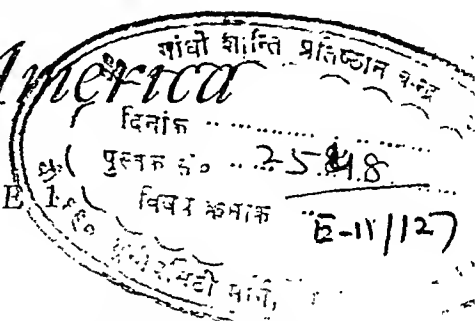


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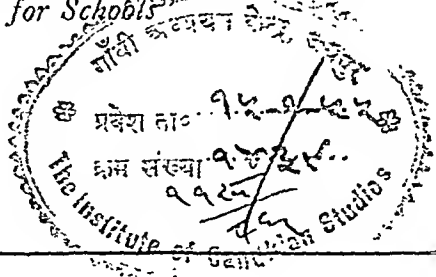
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History of Latin America

COURSE



*A Self-teaching Course, Based on "History of Latin
America for Schools"*



*by Samuel Guy Inman
and C. E. Castañeda*



PUBLISHED FOR THE UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES
BY THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

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Washington 25, D. C., 10 November 1944

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HOW TO USE THIS BOOK

INTRODUCTION:

Most of us in the United States didn't begin to pay much attention to the Latin Americans until we really needed them—after Pearl Harbor. Then we found that we had a host of real friends to the south of us. All twenty republics voted to break relations with the Axis (though one was rather slow in doing it), and thirteen of them have joined in the war. The results are well known—a speed-up in the flow of such vital war materials as copper, tin, rubber and quinine, a chain of air bases from the tip of Brazil to the Rio Grande, and the ousting of Axis agents from our southern neighbors. The Western Hemisphere is pretty well united in this fight.

But the neighbors have not always been so fond of us. The criticism of us which some still make was voiced by many Latinos no less than a decade or two ago. Then it was "Dollar Diplomacy" and "Yankee Imperialism." We were known for a long list of unpopular actions—sending marines into small republics to keep order for long periods of time, cases of diplomatic pressure to aid United States investors in weaker countries, and a general tendency to use "the big stick." But, during this decade of the "good neighbor" policy, we have been treating the other American republics more as partners in a common cause, sending students, doctors and technicians instead of marines, and emphasizing mutually beneficial trade rather than a one-sided bargain. Of course, the millennium hasn't yet arrived. There are still plenty of old sores, but the fight against a common foe is helping to heal them.

However—and this is the vital point—the co-operation is not limited to "the duration" only. The war has only speeded up a process which had already started, and awakened many of us to a fact that has been true for a long time—namely, that we cannot afford to be ignorant of Latin America. We have too long neglected a group, as large as our own nation, which is very important to us.

Why have we neglected them? Partly, at least, because our history books have been too much concerned with only our own family tree—the Greeks, Romans, Medieval Europe, 1492, the English colonies, and all that. The rest of the world was very secondary. Of course, we studied the Spanish explorers, but just as soon as Captain John Smith had put Jamestown on its feet, we forgot all about the Spanish colonies and concentrated on the English settlements. We never did know what happened down there, after Cortés and Pizarro had defeated the Indians. Now the war is making us realize that it is "one world," and we must know about all of it—especially a region so vital to us as Latin America.

STUDY PROCEDURES:

In an attempt to provide means for you to get the most out of this course in the *History of Latin America*, the following general program of study is suggested:

1. *Read each chapter carefully:* Begin by looking at the several boldface paragraph headings throughout the chapter. This will give you a general idea of the contents of the chapter and will help you to understand relationships as you read. Give careful attention to pictures, maps, charts, and any other illustrative material as you read. These are included for a definite purpose. When you have finished reading the chapter, try to recall the principal facts and their relationship to each other. Reread any parts of the chapter that did not seem clear. For the pronunciation of all the Spanish, Portuguese, and French names in the text, consult the index.

2. *Complete the self-checking exercises:* When you think you have mastered the contents of the chapter, complete the exercises and assignments that are provided. Follow the instructions given for these exercises and assignments carefully. These exercises and assignments have been designed to bring out significant facts and ideas. A key to answers is provided at the end of the book for each type of exercise except those under the heading "Correspondence or Class Assignments." Check your answers by means of the key. The numbers in the parentheses in the key indicate the pages containing the answers. If you made any errors, check the textbook for the correct answers.

3. *Correspondence or Class Assignments:* After each set of self-checking exercises in your book is a group of "Correspondence or Class Assignments." If you are a regularly enrolled student in the USAFI and want help from an instructor as you work through this course, write out your answers to these assignments as you come to them and send the answers to the United States Armed Forces Institute at Madison 3, Wisconsin, or to a branch of the Institute if there is one nearer than Madison. Be sure to enclose your name and address, the title and number of this manual, and the numbers of the pages on which the assignments appear together with the number of the particular exercise or assignment.

You will receive from the Institute the suggestions of an instructor who has been over your work. He may be able to help you overcome any difficulties you are having with the course. *You are not obliged to send in these assignments.* They are included only for your help and convenience.

If you are working in a class under an instructor, the assignments may be used for outside written work or for class discussion. In any case, read through these assignments. If you are doubtful about the answers to any of them, re-study your text until you are sure you could prepare satisfactory answers.

4. *Course Essay:* When you have completed this course, you should turn in an essay of 1000 to 2000 words at the time you take your End-of-Course Test. You should not wait until you have completed the course before writing this essay. Begin your essay when you have completed the first half of the

course. The following topics are suggested: Why we should learn about Latin America; The Latin American melting pot; The geography of western hemisphere defense; How geography explains Latin America; The culture of the Mayas, Incas, and Aztecs; A comparison of the Spanish and English Colonies; The Leaders of Latin America's independence; The growth of democracy in Latin America; The Mexican revolution of 1910; "Yankee Imperialism" in Central America and the West Indies.

5. *Half-Course Review and Self-Check*: When you have completed the reading of the first five chapters in this book, check your progress by means of the Half-Course Review and Self-Check. A key is provided at the end of the book for this Review. The arabic numbers in the parentheses refer to the pages in the chapters. If you make any errors, check the textbook for the correct answers.

6. *End-of-Course Tests*: When you have finished this course you are entitled to take a USAFI End-of-Course Test, and to receive a report of your score on the test. USAFI End-of-Course Tests may be obtained as follows:

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By students enrolled in locally organized classes: If you received this book through enrollment in a locally organized class you may apply for the End-of-Course Test through your instructor.

By other students: If you obtained this book by any means other than enrollment with USAFI or in a locally organized class, you may obtain an application for an End-of-Course Test by writing to the Commandant, U. S. Army Forces Institute, Madison 3, Wisconsin, or to the nearest overseas Institute Branch.

7. *Certificates of Completion*: Certificates of Completion, signed by the officers in charge of local education programs, are frequently issued to students who satisfactorily complete courses in locally organized classes. Special USAFI Certificates of Completion are automatically issued by the U. S. Armed Forces Institute to students who are enrolled in the Institute and who complete USAFI courses and End-of-Course Tests by individual study.

USAFI Certificates of Completion are sometimes required by civilian schools in connection with applications for academic credit. If you have a local certificate for work done in a course based on this book and if a school or college has requested you to submit in addition a USAFI Certificate of Completion in order to obtain credit for the course, you must enroll in the Institute in order to apply for a USAFI Certificate of Completion.

The Full-Course Review provided at the end of this book provides a review of the important ideas that you have studied. If this shows you that you are not sure of some of these ideas, re-study the chapters in which they are ex-

plained. If you are fair with yourself in working through this review check-up, you should have no trouble in knowing when to ask for the End-of-Course Test.

8. *Other Course:* This Course is continued in *The History of Latin America*, Course II, EM 213. The latter surveys the countries of South America one by one, investigates the international relations of all Latin America, and finishes by studying their literature, art, and music.

9. *Group Study:* While this course has been designed to enable you to study by yourself, you will profit by group study when it is practical, either with or without an instructor. Discussion and study with others who are taking this course will help you to broaden your understanding of the History of Latin America.

10. *Appendix:* The Appendix contains two items which can be very helpful. The first is a chronology of the most important events and dates in the story of Latin America. The second is a set of reading lists for the different chapters in this Course. These are intended to supplement the selected reading list at the ends of chapters, and to give you a wide range of suggestions for extra reading.

History of Latin America

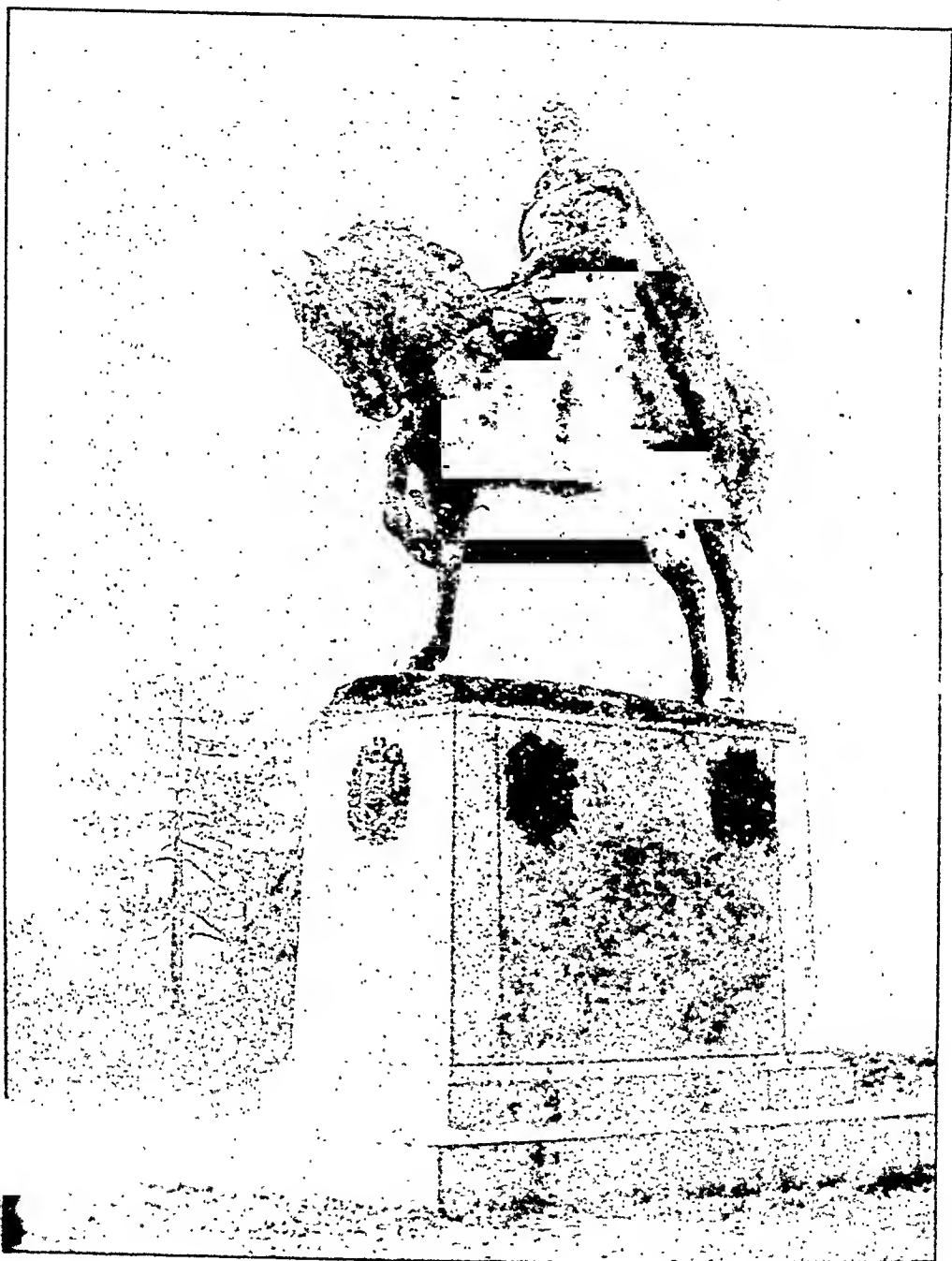


Photo from Brown Brothers

Few Americans have more statues erected to them than has Simón Bolívar, the first advocate of an American league of nations. This statue in Central Park, New York City, shows his popularity in the United States.

I. WHY STUDY LATIN AMERICA?

The way of life we knew before the second World War has been annihilated. It will never again exist. We should study Latin America in order to help build a better world. The racial hatreds, economic rivalries, and cruel dictatorships of Europe and Asia continue to bring discord. The New World must now assume the leadership. The United States and Canada, in the temperate zone, with their organizational ability, need Latin America, with its tropical riches and its racial friendliness and idealism. The day that Singapore fell to Japan, Latin America sprang into first place for America as a producer of rubber, tin, spices, quinine, and vegetable oils, as it had already occupied first place in the furnishing of coffee, sugar, bananas, and other tropical products. Latin America has the largest area of rich, sparsely settled land in the world. It has great cities, famous international leaders, and outstanding educational institutions. Every one of the twenty countries is a republic. Its people enthusiastically face the future and are committed to a democratic fellowship of all nations. Latin America is destined to occupy an important place in world life. In their Southern neighbors the young people of the United States will find strong allies in building a new world order.

World Interest in Latin America. We should study these twenty Latin-American republics because the whole world is interested in them. During the last few years the countries of Europe, Asia, and North America have suddenly awakened to the enormous possibilities of these lands. The first public act of President Herbert Hoover, after he was elected in 1928, was to make a good-will tour to Latin America. In his first inaugural address President Franklin D. Roosevelt announced that the United States was going to begin a new policy toward our Southern neighbors. Secretary of State Cordell Hull, who took office at the same time, said that his two great objectives would be to enlarge world trade and to improve relations with the other American republics. In 1937 the United States Senate approved the first treaty in our history authorizing the Federal Government to pay the expenses of young people to study in a foreign land, designating the Southern republics as the countries to receive our students.

Germany began to give special attention to Latin America even earlier. She organized the Ibero-American Institute in Berlin, where the young men of the Fatherland were trained in the history, language, and culture of the Southern republics. After Hit-

ler came to power, Latin-American students were given free scholarships in Germany, radio programs in correct Spanish and Portuguese were provided, and German diplomats enlarged programs for making friends with Latin Americans.

Following the first World War Russia sent representatives of the Communist party to Latin America. About 1930 Japan started a trade drive and enlarged her steamship service. When Mussolini started his program to restore Rome to its ancient grandeur, he sent his representatives to South America to organize a "Latin League." France enlarged her long-standing cultural program, contributing to the University of São Paulo alone a million francs for its library. In 1941 Canada sent her first ministers to Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. A visitor to the attractive, growing cities of Buenos Aires, Mexico City, and Habana in the last few years was astonished to find there so many trade missions, university lecturers, scientists, writers, and government leaders from all over the world. A part of the world which every other country is finding so important must certainly prove interesting to the young people of the United States.

Latin America, an Older Civilization. We should study Latin America because it is the older partner in the civilization of America. One hundred years before the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock, Cortés and his men marched from Veracruz to conquer the Aztec Empire. It was less than two decades later, in 1539, that the first printing press was set up in Mexico City. This was nearly a century before

the printing press was introduced into the English colonies. The first Christian church in America was begun in Santo Domingo in 1503. There are a great many towns and cities in Latin America older than Saint Augustine, Florida, the oldest city in the United States. The fact is that before the English had built a single home in North America, there were 200,000 Spaniards residing in America. It will help us to appreciate the greatness of the American continent to know that the Spanish and Portuguese built so well in these early times that today about half of the American continent uses the Spanish or Portuguese language and has a Latin culture. Once founded, the United States developed faster than its Southern neighbors. But Latin Americans have an older and in some ways a more brilliant intellectual life than we Northerners have.

Parallels in the History of the Americas. The study of Latin-American history will help us to understand the history of our own country. There are many similarities in the development of the Americas. All the Americas, North, Central, and South, were colonized by Europeans. All the Americas were ruled by European governments for long periods of time. All these colonies revolted and won their freedom. All but one immediately set up republics. All have similarly struggled toward democracy. Some of the political and social problems met by all are: a strong central government as against states' rights; the power of the president versus the power of congress; the independence of the courts from the executive; the prob-

lem of slavery; government control over legislation; tariffs; immigration; the cultural attitude toward Europe; and the development of public education.

The results, however, have not always been the same for the different republics. This brings up certain questions. Why has the United States increased its territory and Latin America lost territory? Why has the United States had only one civil war, while the Southern republics have had many revolutions? Why has the United States developed industrially so much earlier than Latin America? Why did leaders like Bolívar free their slaves and leaders like Washington retain theirs? Why has Brazil such democratic race relations and so little political democracy, while the United States has political democracy and much racial discrimination? Why have some republics separated Church and state, while others have not?

We can throw much light on different periods of United States history by comparing and contrasting them with events in Latin America. Consider, for example,*the following problems: the differences between the English and the Spanish colonists, and between the English and the Spanish colonial systems; the characters of the great leaders in the movement for independence in the United States and in Latin America; the work of George Washington and of Simón Bolívar; conditions in the various republics in the crucial decade from 1860 to 1870, under the leadership of Lincoln in the United States, Juárez in Mexico, Mitre in Argentina, and Dom Pedro II in Brazil; the dominance of an agricul-

tural economy in Latin America and of an industrial economy in the United States; the effect of the Nazi propaganda activities in the United States and in the Latin republics. Some historians have long claimed that it would be better to study the history of the Americas as a whole rather than to separate it into the history of the twenty-one republics.

Common Problems of Democracy in the Americas. The study of Latin America will aid us in understanding the problems facing democracy. Today the whole world is studying anew the real significance of the democratic way of life. In their beginning all the Southern republics largely copied the Constitution of the United States. Although they have not been able to develop a political democracy similar to ours, they do not admit that their institutions are always less democratic than those of the United States. Brazil believes she has more racial democracy; Uruguay that she has greater democracy in her education and in her labor laws; and Mexico that she treats her Indians more democratically. A study of the struggles made by the nations of Latin America to achieve democracy will help our understanding of the world problems facing this form of government.

The study of Latin America brings up the question of racial relations. Three definite racial tendencies are clearly discernible. For example, Argentina is preponderantly white, Mexico is basically Indian, and Brazil is mixed. Brazil is committed to a policy of developing all races into a unified Brazilian people. In Argentina the whites have definitely assumed a domi-

nance which they are likely to maintain. Uruguay, Chile, and Costa Rica may also be counted as republics in which the white man has control. But in other countries, the largest of which is Mexico, the whites have decreased as the Indians have increased. In fact, Mexico as a whole has lately become conscious of its Indian origins and a revaluation of Western civilization in terms of the Indian is in progress, the results of which promise to be interesting.

The Latin-American Attitude toward Life. A study of Latin America will help us to enjoy life. That may sound strange. But any citizen of the United States who has lived among our Southern neighbors knows that he has learned how to live more leisurely and graciously. He has learned to worry less about doing everything today, leaving a few things to be done tomorrow. Businessmen learn that they can accomplish almost as much with less aggressiveness and more courtesy to customers. In Latin America parents and children take more time with each other, and family life is of first importance. In these Southern countries, where almost everybody likes poetry and almost every young person writes it, beauty and sentiment are more important than the driving "go-getter" attitude so much emphasized in the United States. A real understanding of our Southern friends will show us many new ways of enjoying life.

Abundance of Raw Materials. The United States needs Latin America. From an economic standpoint we need her raw materials. We are continually using things imported from the other Americas: food—coffee, sugar, bananas,

cacao (cocoa); metals—tin, copper, aluminum, manganese, chromium, and others that keep our industries going; products from their farms and ranches—hides, wool, balsa wood, and vegetable oils. The United States could not keep up its industrial life without getting from Latin America the many raw materials which are used by our factories, our schools, and our homes. On the other hand, we need the Latin-American markets. Before the second World War we sold to Latin America about \$500,000,000 worth of goods a year. After this war, with Europe and Asia economically impoverished, our greatest business opportunities will be found in Latin America.

Latin-American Art. We need the spiritual contributions which Latin America can give us. How many Americans have listened with pleasure to the music of Brazil, or have been stirred by the paintings of Diego Rivera, the Mexican artist! How many have enjoyed Ricardo Güiraldes's story of the Argentine panipa, or the beautiful poems of the Chilean, Gabriela Mistral! Works of artists such as these can add inspiration and enrichment to our lives.

Need for Co-operation. We should try to know better our Southern neighbors. We want to preserve our own democratic government and to do away with war in the world. We cannot enforce the Monroe Doctrine, which aims to keep foreign enemies of democracy out of this continent, without the friendship and help of the other American governments. The second World War has shown that but for Pan-American (All-American) co-operation, the Axis Powers could have built air bases at our back door and



Photo from Ewing Gallows

Practically every product known to man is raised in Latin America. One of the most popular of these is cacao, which is cultivated extensively in Central America and Brazil.

destroyed us. If we understand Latin America well, we can build such strong ties that the New World will be able to lead the other continents into a new international organization for peace, for international trade, and for co-operation in making a happier world.

WHAT IS IN A NAME?

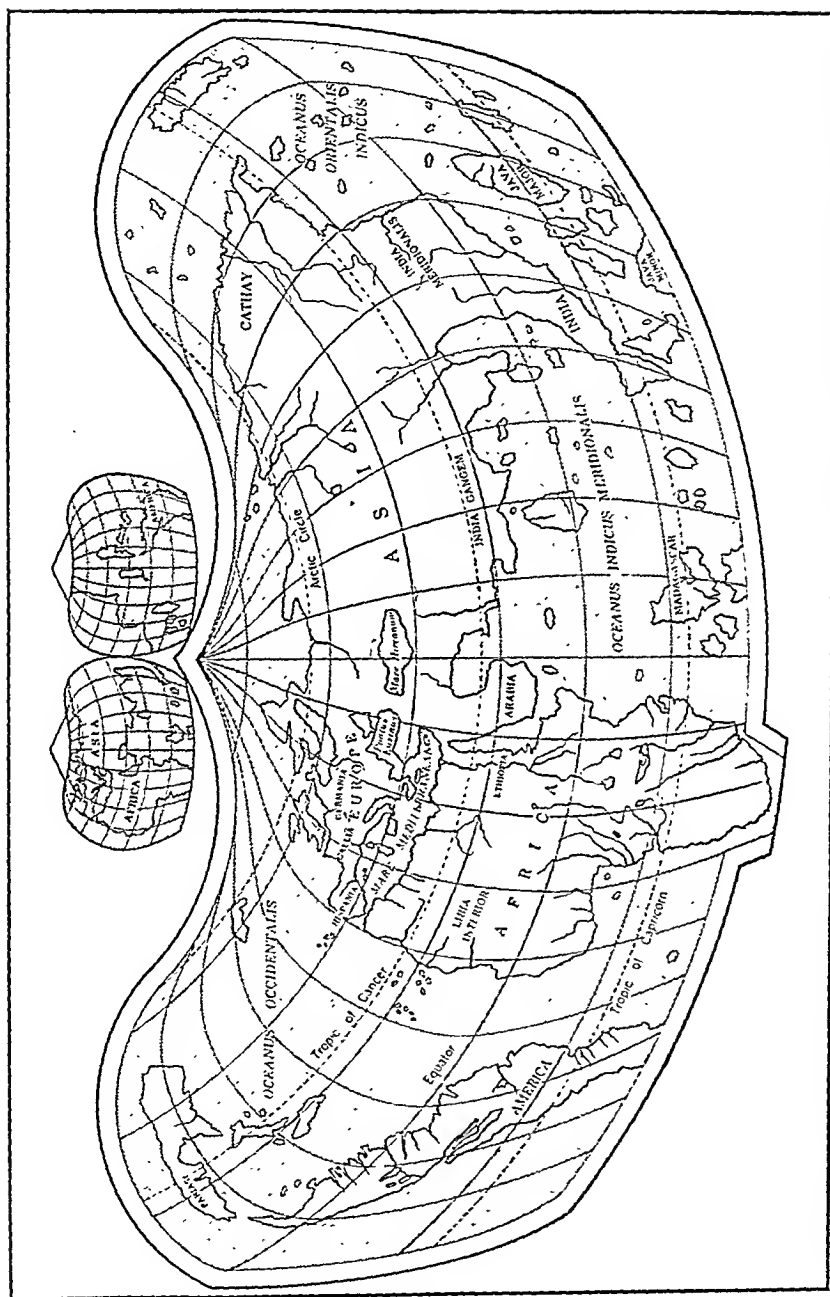
Are you one of the persons who has a name he does not like or which it is difficult for others to use correctly? If so, you will sympathize with the many difficulties we have in finding acceptable names for the people who live in the New World. You will realize also that a person may be called by different names by different people. At the very beginning of our study we must understand clearly the use of terms.

Latin America Defined. *Latin America* is a general term applied to the twenty independent republics of the New World whose language and culture have come from the Latin peoples of Spain, Portugal, and France. These twenty countries, along with the United States of America, make up the twenty-one independent nations that have united to form the Pan American Union. It is to be noted that this union does not include the possessions of Great Britain, France, and Holland on the American continent. Eighteen of these republics speak Spanish. One, Brazil, speaks Portuguese, and another, Haiti, speaks French, following the mother countries that colonized them. The term *Latin America* is not altogether satisfactory. Those who emphasize the dominant influence of the Iberian Peninsula prefer *Ibero-America* or

Hispanic America. Those who emphasize the dominance of the Indian population would use the term *Indo-America*. Strongly nationalistic citizens of countries like Argentina often object to the use of any common terminology to designate all these countries. They fear that outsiders will group them all together as a unit, whereas each country has its own distinct and peculiar life. However, some generic name is necessary and proper to designate this section of the world. While it differs within itself, it has, in the aggregate, a common colonial history, a common movement for independence, a common republican form of government, a common religion. It might almost be said to have a common psychology and a common language, since those speaking Spanish and Portuguese can understand each other. Practically, the term *Latin America* is gradually coming to be universally used. For the sake of variety, we will sometimes use the terms Southerners and Northerners to designate Latin Americans and Anglo-Saxon Americans, respectively, in the course of our narrative.

The whole question of names related to America is a comedy—or tragedy—of errors. The continent might rightly have been named after Columbus. But no one knew what to call it when it was thought to be a part of India.

The term *America* was first applied to South America and the Caribbean area. The travel letters written by Amerigo Vespucci—near rivals to the exaggerations of *Gulliver's Travels*—so vividly described his voyages to South America that a geography published by the German Waldseemüller



This is the famous Waldseemüller map, published in 1507, in which the New World was first called America. Note the small extent of America as then known.

in 1507 set the style by calling the New World "America." Not until one hundred years later was the first permanent settlement made in the North at Jamestown, Virginia. Still later the geographers invented the three divisions of the continent, North, Central, and South America.

As time went on, the United States of America was organized. The name was a long one, so we dropped the first part of it and called ourselves simply *Americans*. The other Americans naturally objected to this, since they had the name centuries before we adopted it. The Latin Americans generally refer to people of the United States as North Americans. This is not a wholly satisfactory term, but it is the one ordinarily used in this book to designate citizens of the United States.

And what about the Indians? They have just as much right to complain as anyone else. They do not belong to India and never did. Because of Columbus's mistake, the Mayas, the Incas, and all other original Americans have had the general name of Indians fixed on them.

As we begin our study of Latin America we should understand that the European colonies, like Jamaica and the Guianas, are not included in our study of Latin America, nor is Puerto Rico, which is a part of the United States.

We should also take note of the fact that South America and Latin America are not to be used as identical terms. Ten republics only out of the twenty lie in South America. The rest are near neighbors to the United States. Yet well-known writers have recently based important conclusions

on statistics drawn only from South America, when they were arguing about Latin America as a whole. Other novices have fallen into the grave error of thinking that the United States and Latin America have a rival economy. They are confusing Argentina with the whole of Latin America. Amateurs who suddenly discover that the "bulge" of Brazil is much farther east than is New York or Miami jump to the conclusion that Latin America is closer to Europe than to the United States. That this assumption is not true may be readily seen when we consider that the actual distance from Rio de Janeiro around the "bulge" to New York is only 4,748 miles, whereas to Liverpool it is 5,158 miles, and to Hamburg it is 5,518 miles. The ten northern republics have all been more closely allied in transportation, in trade, and in cultural relations with the United States than with Europe. Until very recently, some of the ten southernmost republics have been more intimately connected with Europe than with us. The first World War (1914-1918) started a closer relationship with the United States; and the second World War, which began in 1939, is accelerating that movement.

LATIN AMERICA COMMANDS THE WORLD'S ATTENTION

Extent of Latin America. Beginning at the Rio Grande and stretching south over Mexico, down through the five countries of Central America and the three republics of the West Indies, across Panama, through Colombia, Venezuela, and the enormous land of Brazil, over the high plateaus of the four Andean countries and across the

abounding plains of Paraguay, Uruguay, and Argentina, down to the Strait of Magellan, lies Latin America. These twenty countries—each flying the flag of a republic, all young and enthusiastic—have their golden age before them, not behind them as it is in the Old World. It may be expected that, as the most remarkable development of the nineteenth century took place in North America, the most wonderful developments of the twentieth century may take place in Latin America. Latin America has four outstanding assets which make such a development possible. First, there is room for the overcrowded populations of the world. Second, there is power to produce the food and raw materials necessary for the needs of the world. Third, those lands furnish a market place for the manufactured goods of the world. Fourth, they possess a remarkable group of intellectuals, capable of leading their countries into an important place among modern nations.

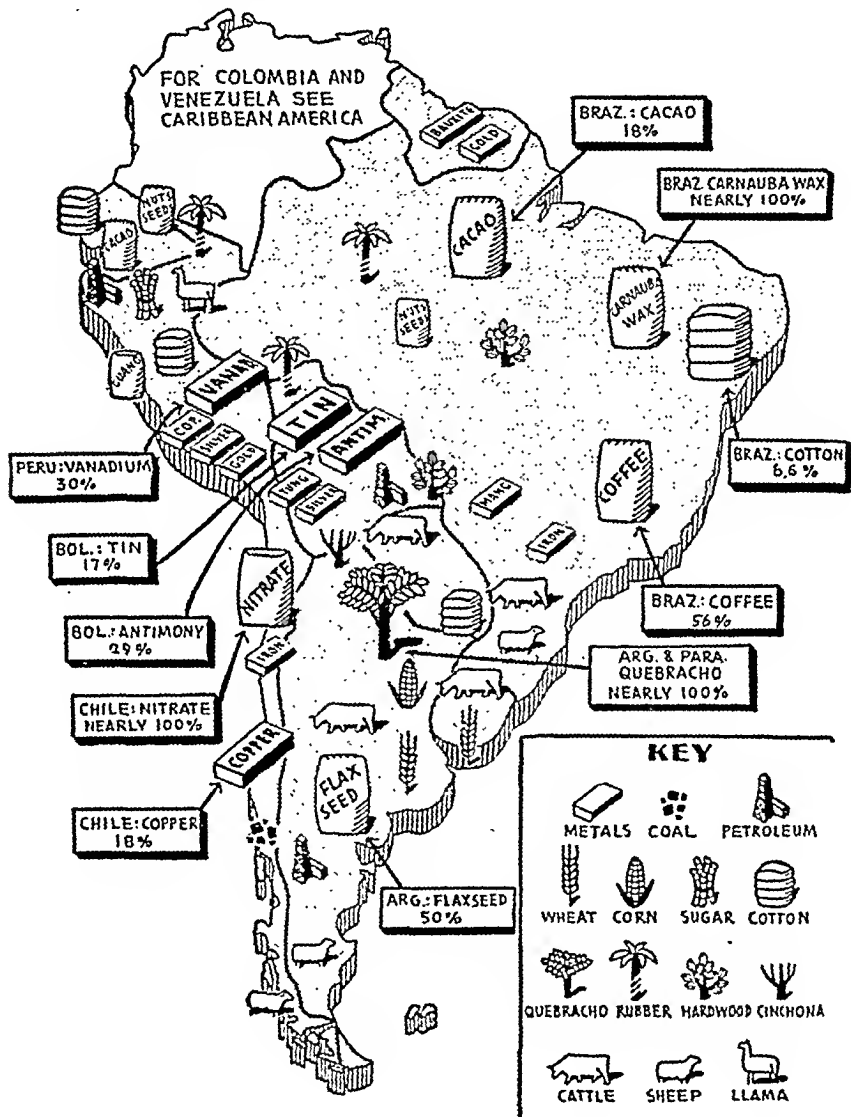
The very size of these lands is impressive. The overcrowded populations of the Orient and of Europe will, without question, seek the great, fertile fields and friendly climates of these Latin-American countries. Latin America is four times the size of Europe, including Russia. One single state in mighty Brazil equals the area of Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. If Argentina were as densely populated as is the State of New York (and much of its territory could support a dense population), it would have 225,000,000 people instead of its present population of 13,000,000. Venezuela is not considered one of the largest repub-

lics, but it has three times as much territory as Japan, while Japan has a population nearly equal to that of all South America. Arguments might have been advanced in the old days against the dense population of these lands because they were tropical, but modern science is overcoming the difficulties of the tropics. The island of Hispaniola is said to be capable of sustaining as dense a population as any other territory of similar size in the world.

Natural Resources of the Americas. The great natural wealth of the Americas has hardly been touched. If necessary the Western Hemisphere could be made entirely self-sufficient. Let your mind sweep over the map. Canada is an enormous country, larger than the United States. There is room enough there for 50,000,000 people. The present population is only 12,000,000. Look at the United States, far ahead of the other Americas in its economic development, its factories, its railroads, its large farm acreage, its high standard of living, its widespread educational opportunities. It has grown up and is ready to exchange its manufactured goods for the raw materials of its neighbors, and to help them on their way to their own industrialization.

Now look at Latin America. Across the Rio Grande lies Mexico, a nation of varied mineral and agricultural resources. Below lie the six small Central American republics, rich in mahogany, bananas, and coffee. In the Caribbean are three island republics. Cuba is "the sugar bowl of the world." Haiti and the Dominican Republic have been noted for their riches ever since Columbus sent his first travel

THE RICHES OF SOUTH AMERICA



LARGER SYMBOLS SHOW MOST IMPORTANT PRODUCTS
WITH PERCENTAGES OF WORLD PRODUCTION

From Foreign Policy Association, Headline Book No. 27

letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, describing them as second only to the Garden of Eden.

The great continent of South America contains ten republics. Venezuela, on the Caribbean coast, is third among the nations of the world in the production of petroleum. Colombia, in addition to its enormous treasures of precious metals and oil, can contribute high-grade coffee, bananas, and tropical woods. Ecuador produces much cacao and vegetable ivory. Countries like Peru, Bolivia, and Chile have little agricultural land. But they have great stores of minerals in their mountains that can help supply the needs of the factories of the United States. The American continent now produces 78 per cent of the copper and silver, and 77 per cent of the petroleum of the world. Argentina produces sugar and cotton in the north, wheat and cattle in the central zone, and petroleum, mutton, wool, and minerals in the south. On Uruguay's great plains roam cattle which can produce enough meat and dairy products to care for an enormous population. To the north lies Brazil, with its great possibilities in metals, tropical fruits, and cattle raising scarcely touched.

The specialties of each individual country are well known: Brazilian coffee and rubber, Argentine wheat and beef, Chilean nitrate, Bolivian tin, Peruvian copper, Venezuelan oil and asphalt, Colombian platinum and emeralds, Costa Rican bananas, Mexican silver. These are just the beginning of what might be developed. Here lie the sources of supply for the manufactured goods made by the industrial nations. Here are the markets

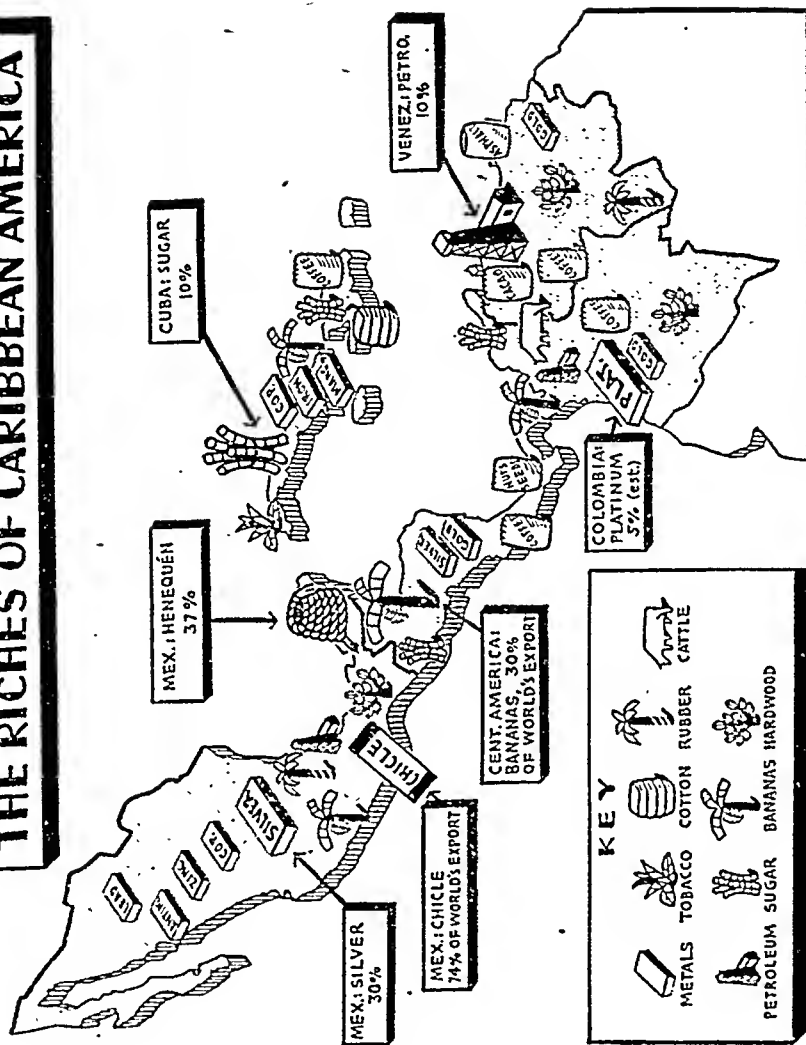
for the manufactured goods of the same nations.

What have the Americas been doing? To what extent have they utilized their opportunities? In the economic field there is still much to be done. In rich countries like Canada and the Argentine, only 11 per cent of the land is now in farms. In Brazil less than 2 per cent of the soil is being cultivated. The Amazon Valley, with approximately 15,000 miles of navigable rivers—more than half the distance around the world—is the richest undeveloped tropical land in the world. In parts of every country in the Americas there are undeveloped areas. Lack of transportation, lack of organization, tropical languidness, the "carry-over" of colonial conditions—all of these have held back economic progress.

Social and Building Reforms in Latin America. Latin America is still young in the economic and industrial field. But everywhere there is enthusiasm for building and reform. Cities are being enlarged and beautified. In Rio de Janeiro the people have cut down hills and pushed the land farther out into the sea in order to allow more room for building. They have made new drives, erected new edifices along the gorgeous water front, and cleared off suburban mountainsides for new residential sections. In Buenos Aires a diagonal street has been cut through the downtown section at a cost of millions of dollars, in order to beautify the city. A visitor of ten years ago would hardly recognize Cali in Colombia or São Paulo in Brazil, as these cities appear today. Everywhere there is change. Everywhere there is reform.

Mexicans are so enthusiastic about

THE RICHES OF CARIBBEAN AMERICA



From Foreign Policy Association, Headline Book No. 27

their revolution, which has been distributing land to the poor and raising the standard of living, that they have erected a great monument on which is inscribed: "To the Revolution—Yesterday, Today, and Forever." Little Uruguay is one of the most advanced nations in the world in its social laws for protecting the common people. Argentina is one of the world's rich and progressive nations. The government of Colombia has recently begun a "New Deal" social program. Venezuela, the only modern country without a debt, recently employed groups of teachers from three foreign lands to speed up its education. Ecuador has welcomed European refugees who have aided in modernizing that nation. Peru has started an expensive road-building program which will enable its people to travel over the Andes down into the Amazon Valley. It has begun its social reform. Brazil has been developing her great West with the same enthusiasm as did the United States in the days of the covered wagon. Paraguay and Bolivia, having finally settled their war over boundaries, have now begun to develop their backward economy. Chile has started a new industrial and social program.

Such evidences of youth and potential power have attracted the attention of the world. Every commercial, political, racial, cultural, and religious group in the world has been sending representatives to propagate its ideas in Latin America. Arrivals of trade missions from all the industrial nations are continually announced in the southern papers. The latest and most attractive literature from France, Germany, Russia, and even the United

States is seen on the inviting book tables of all Southern cities. German racism, Italian nationalism, and Russian communism have each developed highly effective propaganda agencies for spreading their doctrines. Great Britain from the commercial and France from the cultural side have been exerting every effort for many years. Japan had been leading an Asiatic movement toward the south. Even in the remote city of Asunción, in Paraguay, a Japanese-Paraguayan Cultural Association had been organized.

The United States, after long neglect, has been developing an active program for promoting friendship with the Southern countries. This program must be comprehensive enough to make up for past neglect—to make up for the time when we assumed that we ourselves were "America" and largely ignored the existence of our Latin-American neighbors, who are "America" too.

WHO ARE THE LATIN AMERICANS?

In the nations of Latin America and in the United States, in all the twenty-one countries of the Pan American Union, the people have their various nationalities, but they are first of all Americans. They are united in loyalty to the New World and its ideals of liberty and freedom for all. In order to understand citizens of the United States and citizens of Central and South American nations, this is the first principle to keep in mind. The second principle to keep in mind is that there are several kinds of Americans. As several individuals may be alike in certain ways of living, yet differ in others, so the various Ameri-

can people have similarities and differences.

There is always a difference between people who live in cold and in warm climates. In the United States people who live in the South are noted for taking life easy, for enjoying leisure, and for extending hospitality to others. Citizens of the Northern states find that the cold climate encourages them to move rapidly and to work hard; thus they have less time for social life than their Southern neighbors do. The differences between Northerners and Southerners in the United States, however, are not nearly so great as are the differences between the people of the United States and those of Latin America. These are so much more fundamental because they are due not only to climate, but also to race. In Latin America, as in North America, the original stock was Indian. However, owing to the number of Indians in Latin America in proportion to the white conquerors and settlers, and owing to the way in which the two races intermarried there, the Indian is a basic factor in the population of Latin America as he is not in North America today.

All the people who live in the United States are not Anglo-Saxons. However, our laws, customs, language, school systems, even our games, are Anglo-Saxon. When Italians, Russians, Swedes, Chinese, and others come to live in our country, they learn to see life from the Anglo-Saxon viewpoint. In recent decades many people from foreign countries have gone to live in the Southern republics. But the Spaniards and Portuguese, who are Latins and who first came there centuries ago, so stamped their per-

sonalities and their views of life on Latin America that all the people there are classed as Latin Americans.

The Latin-American Way of Life. As soon as the North American (the name Latin Americans use for citizens of the United States) crosses the Rio Grande into Mexico, he notices a difference in the way the houses are built, in the way the parks are laid out, and in the customs of the people. Instead of having yards in front of their homes where the public can see them, Mexicans build their houses next to the sidewalk and have their gardens, called *patios*, within the houses where they can be enjoyed in privacy. From Mexico to Argentina the North American finds that the schools do not stress sports and exercise as ours do, and that high-school boys are frequently more interested in politics and poetry than in the gymnasium.

The old Spanish idea of centering much of the social life of the city or village around the central square or plaza often continues. Friends may sit in the plaza and converse even during what the Northerner would term "business hours." During the evening the band plays, and everyone strolls around and around the plaza. Usually the men go in one direction and the women in another. All appear to have a most delightful time. The idea that women must be chaperoned continues, except in the largest cities, where the foreign influence is gradually breaking down the custom. Courtship is discreetly conducted at first, with the girl behind a barred window and the young man "playing the bear," as he walks back and forth in front of her home,



Photo from Frederic Lewis

There are many large, landed estates, called haciendas, in Latin America, where the owners live delightfully and furnish lavish entertainment for their guests. Some of the haciendas are of vast size, especially in Mexico and Chile. The hacienda represents more than ownership of land. It is a way of living produced by a form of feudal society in the New World.

dropping a word as he passes. Later, watchful parents may admit him to the house, but with the inevitable chaperone present almost up to the day of marriage.

Family life is greatly emphasized, the tendency being to conserve the old-fashioned patriarchal idea. The father is highly honored as the head of a large family, including cousins, grandchildren, uncles and aunts, and the ever-present guests. This contributes to a strong and attractive social organization, although it limits initiative. Children grow into maturity very quickly. They spend much time with their elders, and they often enjoy that more than they do play. Even young high-school students like to read serious authors like Emerson, Tolstoy, and Victor Hugo. Many young people try their hand at writing poetry.

Courtesy and friendship, love of beauty, and love of children are attractive qualities in the Latin American. He is seldom in a hurry. A chance stop on the country road to inquire the way is likely to bring you an invitation for a visit. After that the host may insist that he ride ahead with you to be sure that you take the right turn at the next fork of the road. Conversation he loves—but not so much about practical questions, or the news, or the weather. He likes rather to theorize, to discuss why life is the way it is, and how it would be if it were different. So the matter-of-fact North American, always looking for practical ways of solving pressing problems, finds himself charmed with the delightful philosophy of life and poetry in the conversation of a Latin American.

When the North American tourist returns from the South, he shows pictures he has taken and relates his experiences. He describes huge ranches, called haciendas, rodeos, crowded, dirty tenements, beautiful churches, magnificent government palaces, colorful street markets, and gay dancers. Often the tourist who has observed these things has not yet become friendly enough with the people or known them long enough to be able to understand them. He has not looked into the hearts and minds of the Latin Americans. Therefore, he cannot tell us about their character.

Description of a Latin American as a man who likes bullfights, poetry, and fiestas (feast days) is not enough for one who wants to know how people, influenced in their way of life by Spain and Portugal, differ from those who are set in an Anglo-Saxon pattern. When we go below the surface, we find that the Latin American's fundamental characteristics include dignity, formality, sensitiveness, courtesy, brilliancy, and a high degree of idealism.

Many of the customs and attitudes found among the Latin Americans come from their individualism. They emphasize the importance of the individual rather than that of the community. Games in the United States stress teamwork. Most of the games in the Southern republics stress individual play. North Americans, on the other hand, are group minded; they usually submerge themselves in organizations where they strive for the good of the group. Latin Americans dislike organizations and often refuse to belong to them, even when membership might bring more business

and the improvement of government.

Individualism is the foundation on which the Latin American builds his life. Because of it, he has great self-respect, which is expressed in his dignity. Dignity is more than an assumed mannerism. To him the term "mi dignidad" is the statement of his individual worth, of his rights as a person. Upon his dignity he wants no one to impose. With the Spaniard he says, "Underneath my cloak, I am a king."

The Latin American insists upon others respecting him as much as he respects himself. A workman may prefer low wages with considerate treatment, to high wages with insults. The most wretched beggar expects charity to be accompanied by a proper attitude toward him as a man.

When one plans a trip to countries south of the United States, he should remember that courtesy is the key to practically every door from the Rio Grande to the Strait of Magellan. To a friendly smile and a warm hand-clasp, one will find the Latins enthusiastically responsive. They will show their liking for a person by taking time from their work to talk, and to explain what he may wish to know about their countries. Courtesy includes a desire to put their friends at ease, so it is leisurely dispensed. Their appointments are secondary to courtesy, for no one would blame another for postponing his activities in order to do a service for a friend.

Young people in Southern America are likely to impress visitors by their brilliancy rather than by their depth. High-school students usually pursue more subjects than do students in the United States, where extracur-

ricular activities make great demands upon time and energy. Moreover, the South American student prefers discussions of social problems to participation in sports.

Latin Americans are not likely to be dominated by a burning desire to make money, so they prefer courses in foreign languages, ancient history, art, poetry, and philosophy to practical subjects. University students may be so absorbed in political matters that they organize for political reforms. A young South American who came to the United States was astonished that more university students in this country do not take the lead in politics. It surprised him to meet students who had not shed blood in a struggle for governmental reform.

Tests have been given which prove that Mexican children learn theoretical subjects, such as sociology, more quickly than do North American children. Exchange students who are coming to the United States in increasing numbers show their native brilliancy by earning good grades even though they do their reading and reciting in English, a language foreign to them.

The intellectual life of the Southern republics is not limited to the university towns or to schools. Small towns in Latin America have groups of intellectuals who discuss not only business but the theories back of it. Their interchange of ideas gives them a broad outlook on the problems of their people. It is pleasant to visit with Latin Americans, for their natural brilliancy and their devotion to learning make it possible for them to talk intelligently on almost any subject.

The North American director of a boys' club in Buenos Aires said that

in Omaha, where he had formerly lived, boys desiring membership would ask about the swimming pool, the gymnasium, dues, and hours. In contrast, the boys of Buenos Aires first wanted to see the constitution of the club. The rules under which the club functioned and the theory of its organization were of prime importance to them.

To see things and to hear facts and figures is not enough for the Latin American. He wants to understand the theory and history behind them. When a famous Mexican educator was advised by his physician to "look into the matter of exercise," the gentleman simply went to the library and began to read books on the subject.

The greatest book in the Spanish language is *Don Quixote*. It describes the struggle between the ideal and the practical. Don Quixote is the typical idealist. His companion, Sancho Panza, is a practical fellow. One, like a knight, rides forth on his gallant steed with the noble resolution of attacking all evils and establishing, in their stead, ideals. The other, on his burro, thinks only of food and lodging and travel problems. Don Quixote is so absorbed in bringing about his ideal that he heeds no words of advice from Sancho. He flings himself upon a windmill that he sees as a giant menacing the countryside. The mill is damaged. He is badly hurt. Undaunted, he is up and on his way again, ready to risk life and limb in other adventures to aid a fellow man.

Many Latin-American Quixotes attack evils without consideration as to whether their efforts will bring economic benefits. In most Latin-American republics, slavery was abolished

by the signing of a decree. This humanitarian act brought financial ruin to many owners of large estates and caused other hardships to the people of the nation concerned until they could adjust their way of living to the change. The leaders of the movement acted to accomplish an ideal, without question as to whether they and their communities would be injured economically. Political leaders and writers in Latin America may languish in jails or go into exile rather than surrender their ideals at the command of the opposition.

Overemphasis on the poetic and the intuitional has, of course, accounted to some extent for the Latin American's lack of success in making money, and in building powerful business corporations and great factories. For this reason, the North American is likely to think that the Latin American is backward. Conversely, the Latin American is likely to call his Northern neighbor a money-chaser. The truth is that one of the finest things about the American continent is that it has these two peoples with such different characteristics. For the Northerner can learn to tone down his brusqueness, his hurry, and his drive for "success" by borrowing some of his neighbor's leisure and meditateness. The Southerner can supplement his charm and poetry by adding a few ingredients taken from the New England conscience, a bit of the efficiency found in a Ford factory, and more of the North's order and respect for property. North American young people could well imitate their Southern neighbors in giving more of their time to study and discussion of political and social questions. Latin-American youth

might profit by more group games like baseball and football, which teach the individual to play for the honor of the team, rather than just for himself, and also to take defeat gracefully rather than to start a revolution.

In developing the All-American team, the people of the Americas should realize that the differences in their national characteristics are no reason for thinking that the people of one nation are superior to those of any of the others. It is, on the other hand, a reason for rejoicing. When, in the building of the continent, we shall have developed the ideal American, he will not be altogether the driving Northerner nor the slower-going Southerner. He will be a combination of the best of each—something of the poet, something of the engineer.

Successful Emissaries to Latin America. This combination is not easily achieved. Fortunately, we have some good examples to follow in working out the problem. One is Ambassador Dwight Morrow. When he was selected by President Calvin Coolidge to go to Mexico to see whether he could adjust our differences with that country, he showed us several fundamental ways of approaching the Southerners. Even before he went to Mexico as ambassador, he decided "I am going to like the Mexicans." He also began to study their history in order to understand them better and to learn how he could make the Mexicans like the United States. One of the first things he did when he arrived in Mexico City was to take down the sign "American Embassy" from the house where our ambassador lives. In place of that sign, he put up a neat brass plate on which was engraved

"Embassy of the United States of America." How that pleased the Mexicans! All the people on this continent have just as much right and are just as proud of being called Americans as the people of the United States.

Another one of our diplomats, Elihu Root, pleased the Latin Americans by recognizing their older, more advanced civilization. The occasion for that notable statement was an impressive one. Mr. Root was then Secretary of State. He had noticed that people in the United States and Europe did not appreciate our Southern neighbors. He determined to change this. He decided to do an unheard-of thing for a Secretary of State. He decided to attend an international conference in South America. The announcement of his visit to Rio de Janeiro for the Third Pan-American Conference in 1906 excited all America and Europe. The Brazilians were overjoyed. They prepared a great reception. With bands and flowers and soldiers they met him at the steamer. Through the gaily decorated streets of one of the most beautiful cities in the world they led him to the old royal palace, where he was lavishly entertained.

That night the Secretary was to make the opening speech of the Pan-American Conference. All the continent awaited his word. Would his visit win friends for his country, which South America was criticizing for sending soldiers and battleships to Panama and the Dominican Republic? Or would he increase, by saying the wrong thing, the fear of the powerful Uncle Sam? His opening sentence spoken to that brilliant gathering from all parts of the world led him

right into the hearts of the warm-blooded Latin Americans. "I bring from my country a special greeting to her elder sister in the civilization of America." Here was not only a recognition that Latin Americans were "Americans," but also that their civilization was older than that of North America. Our Southern friends, accustomed to our thinking of them as savages and revolutionists, were overwhelmed with delight. They quote that speech even today!

CONTINENTAL PATRIOTISM

On a beautiful day in May, 1940, with the sun shining brilliantly on the Washington monument and the palace of the Pan American Union, the Eighth American Scientific Congress opened in Washington. Fifteen hundred teachers, chemists, physicians, and writers had come from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and all the other American republics to talk about law schools, telescopes, tractors, in fact, every kind of scientific machine which might be used to make life happier on this continent. In the midst of the joy of the meeting, there came the tragic news of the ruthless invasion of the Low Countries by the German army. The happy meeting seemed to turn into a funeral. The delegates had lost some of their dearest friends. After they had recovered a bit from the shock, the roll was called of each American republic. Delegates replied by telling what this defeat of democracy in Europe meant to America. It was like the young people of a family rising up to pledge themselves to carry on, now that the parents had fallen.

Secretary of State Cordell Hull said that we must keep our schools free in

America and have no bonfire of books as they had in Germany. The Mexican delegate declared that we must work for the right treatment of the laboring people. Costa Rica emphasized the need of free exchange of goods among all American republics. The delegate from Colombia made the most impressive of all the suggestions. Just as all of us have developed patriotism for our own nation, he said, it is now our duty to develop "continental patriotism." Love and devotion to the whole continent, as the home or motherland of every American, should now become our motto, said the Colombian.

Solidarity of the Americas. When Hawaii was attacked by Japan on December 7, 1941, Chile asked the Pan American Union to call a meeting immediately to declare the solidarity of the whole continent. At the conference held a month later at Rio de Janeiro, the representative of Mexico declared in the midst of great applause: "The first thing we must realize is that this attack on the United States is an attack against the whole of America. The men who gloriously fell on Wake Island and the Philippines met their death in the defense of the free destinies of these Americas." The conference unanimously asked all American countries to break off relations with the Axis. Immediately, every republic but two announced its compliance with the request. All the Latin-American countries north of Panama except Mexico went so far as to declare war immediately. Mexico followed suit in June, 1942. For the first time in history, every country from Hudson Bay to the Panama Canal united in fighting

against the threatened invasion of the American continent.

In the week that the Japanese took Singapore, President Roosevelt vetoed a bill in Congress to subsidize the cultivation of the guayule plant within the United States. This seemed a strange procedure, at the moment when the evidence was clear that we had just lost our former supply of rubber, as well as tin, quinine, and many other valuable products. The President, however, was taking the long view. He explained that he vetoed the bill because the provisions of the bill stated that the aid for the cultivation of guayule should be limited to the United States. "It is vital," the President declared, "that all the potential rubber-producing areas in the Western Hemisphere be developed, regardless of whether within or without the United States." In referring to the action of the recent Pan-American Conference at Rio de Janeiro he expressed the wish that "continental solidarity be translated into positive and efficient action in the obtaining of strategic materials."

United States Aid to Latin America. About the same time it was announced that the United States would aid other American nations in many ways. Argentina would receive our co-opera-

tion in turning into alcohol some of the enormous surpluses of corn then rotting on the ground. Ecuador would receive an important scientific and technical mission to assist in the construction of naval and air bases vital to the defense of the Panama Canal, as well as to improve the sanitation of the country. Brazil was granted a credit of about \$100,000,000 by the Export-Import Bank in order to intensify her production of rubber and iron and to speed the Brazilian defense program. Various health missions were announced as ready to proceed to areas vital for carrying out the defense of the continent. They would work on such problems as water supply, disposal of waste, building hospitals, and training specialists in public health. Several million sets of radios would be distributed at cheap prices in the American republics to enable the people to listen to improved programs which the United States proposed to prepare. These were only a few of the many ways that the Good Neighbor Policy had developed after the start of the second World War. A more complete discussion of the thrilling story of recent inter-American friendship will be told later. Our purpose here is to get a rapid picture of the whole continent.

TEST YOURSELF!

A. Do You Have a Good Grasp of the Essentials of This Chapter? Here is a list of reasons why we in the United States should learn more about Latin America. Draw a circle around the numbers of those reasons which are discussed in this chapter; leave the others unmarked.

1. Nations other than the United States have long cultivated their relations with Latin America.

2. The highest mountains and the longest river in the New World are found in Latin America.

3. We can learn from the Latin Americans some valuable lessons in the art of living happily.

4. Some countries south of us are facing the same problems of democracy that we are (for instance, problems of race relations) and we can learn from their experience.

5. We have adopted many customs from the other Americas, such as dancing the rumba and wearing Mexican sandals.

6. Latin America may develop as remarkably during the twentieth century as the United States did during the nineteenth, and thus become increasingly important to us.

7. Latin America has sent to the United States some outstanding athletes, such as the Chilean boxer, Arturo Godoy, and the Ecuadorean tennis champion, Francisco Segura.

8. The culture of Latin America is older than that of the United States and can teach us valuable lessons.

9. Since 1933, under our Good Neighbor Policy, we have been developing closer co-operation with the other American republics.

10. The more we know about Latin Americans, the more money we can make out of trading with them.

B. Can You Distinguish between Facts and Opinions? Some of the following statements are facts given in the textbook, others are opinions which the book discusses, and still others are opinions not mentioned in the book. If the statement is a fact, encircle the letter F. If it is an opinion found in the book, encircle the letters OD; if an opinion *not* in the book, encircle ON.

F OD ON 1. At the Rio de Janeiro conference in January, 1942, all the other American republics agreed to break relations with the Axis countries.

F OD ON 2. The cocoa in a bar of chocolate may have been produced in Ecuador.

F OD ON 3. Ambassador Dwight Morrow pleased the Mexicans when he changed the sign from "American Embassy" to "Embassy of the United States of America."

F OD ON 4. Ambassador Morrow was the best envoy we ever sent to Mexico.

F OD ON 5. We North Americans would enjoy life more if we adopted some of the Latin Americans' leisurely manner.

F OD ON 6. Latin America may be on the verge of a great expansion of population and wealth.

WHY STUDY LATIN AMERICA?

- F OD ON 7. The distance from Rio de Janeiro to New York is shorter than that from Rio to Hamburg, Germany.
- F OD ON 8. In most of Latin America, unmarried girls are carefully chaperoned.
- F OD ON 9. In general, the Latin Americans are lazier and more backward than people in the United States.
- F OD ON 10. Four elements which most Latin Americans have in common are: their history, their fight for independence, their form of government, and their religion.

C. How Well Do You Know the Latin Americans? Some of the following statements about them are true, others are false. Encircle the letter T if the statement is true, the letter F if it is false. In each sentence, a key word is italicized. If you think the statement is false, write the correct word in the blank space provided at the end of the statement.

- T F 1. The sports of Latin America usually are *team-games*, rather than games between individuals. ()
- T F 2. Students there are often more interested in *politics* or *poetry* than in sports. ()
- T F 3. Family life tends to be more *closely* knit than in the United States. ()
- T F 4. *Ideals* are often more important to Latin Americans than the acquiring of wealth. ()
- T F 5. Tests given to Mexican children indicate that they learn theoretical subjects more *slowly* than North Americans. ()
- T F 6. The great Spanish romance, *Don Quixote*, symbolizes the *idealism* in Spanish character. ()
- T F 7. Latin Americans generally are *silent* people, who do not enjoy conversation. ()
- T F 8. They consider that they, too, are Americans, so they call us "*North Americans*." ()

D. What Are the Outstanding Products of Latin America? After a study of the maps on pages 12 and 14 you should be able to match each of the following products with the principal area which produces it. Insert within the parentheses in the right-hand column the numbers of the proper choices from the left-hand column.

- Areas*
- Argentina
 - Bolivia
 - Brazil
 - Central America
 - Chile
 - Colombia
 - Cuba
 - Ecuador
 - Mexico
 - Peru
 - Venezuela

- Products*
- () tin
 - () oil
 - () nitrates
 - () sugar
 - () copper
 - () coffee
 - () flax seed
 - () silver

E. Correspondence or Class Assignments. (See general instructions under this heading, p. viii.)

1. Why have you decided to study about Latin America? Put your reasons in a numbered list of short statements. Which of your reasons are also found in the text? Under the heading "Additional Good Reasons Found in the Text," add short statements of those points with which you really can agree. Which reasons in the book, if any, seem to you to be unimportant?

2. The text lists some of the personal traits of most Latin Americans. What do you think of them, for instance, the interests of their students or their customs of courtship? Write two fairly long paragraphs, the first explaining the Latin-American traits which you admire, and the second those which do *not* appeal to you. If you know any "Latinos" personally, explain whether they have the traits listed in the text.

3. What does Latin America mean to you? Write a paragraph on its importance to you in each of the following ways: (a) to you personally because of its products which you use, business relations with it, and so on; and (b) to the United States as a whole, because of aid in the present war, growing trade relations, and so on.

F. Suggestions for Extra Reading. If you have a shelf of books or magazines within reach, try to find something on Latin America. A full list of suggested readings is given in the Appendix of this book, but here are a few books that you will especially like, if you are lucky enough to find them. Or, if you wish to buy one or two good books, this list includes the publishers and prices. The sections listed here are for reading in relation to this chapter. Each of the following chapters will include an appropriate list.

Chase, Stuart, *Mexico*. Macmillan, \$1.00.

Goetz and Fry, *The Good Neighbors*. Foreign Policy Association, New York City, 25 cents.

Gunther, John, *Inside Latin America*. Harper & Brothers, \$3.50.

Herring, Hubert, *Good Neighbors*. Yale University Press, \$3.00. Pp. 1-15.

Inman, Samuel Guy, *Latin America, Its Place in World Life*. Harcourt Brace & Co., \$3.75. Introduction and Ch. 1, 22.

Rauschenbush, Joan, *Look at Latin America*. Foreign Policy Association, New York City, 25 cents. Ch. 4.

Stewart and Peterson, *Builders of Latin America*. Harper & Brothers, \$1.94.

Williams, M. W., *People and Politics of Latin America*. Ginn & Co., \$4.60.
(Also, EM244.)

II. RACIAL RELATIONS

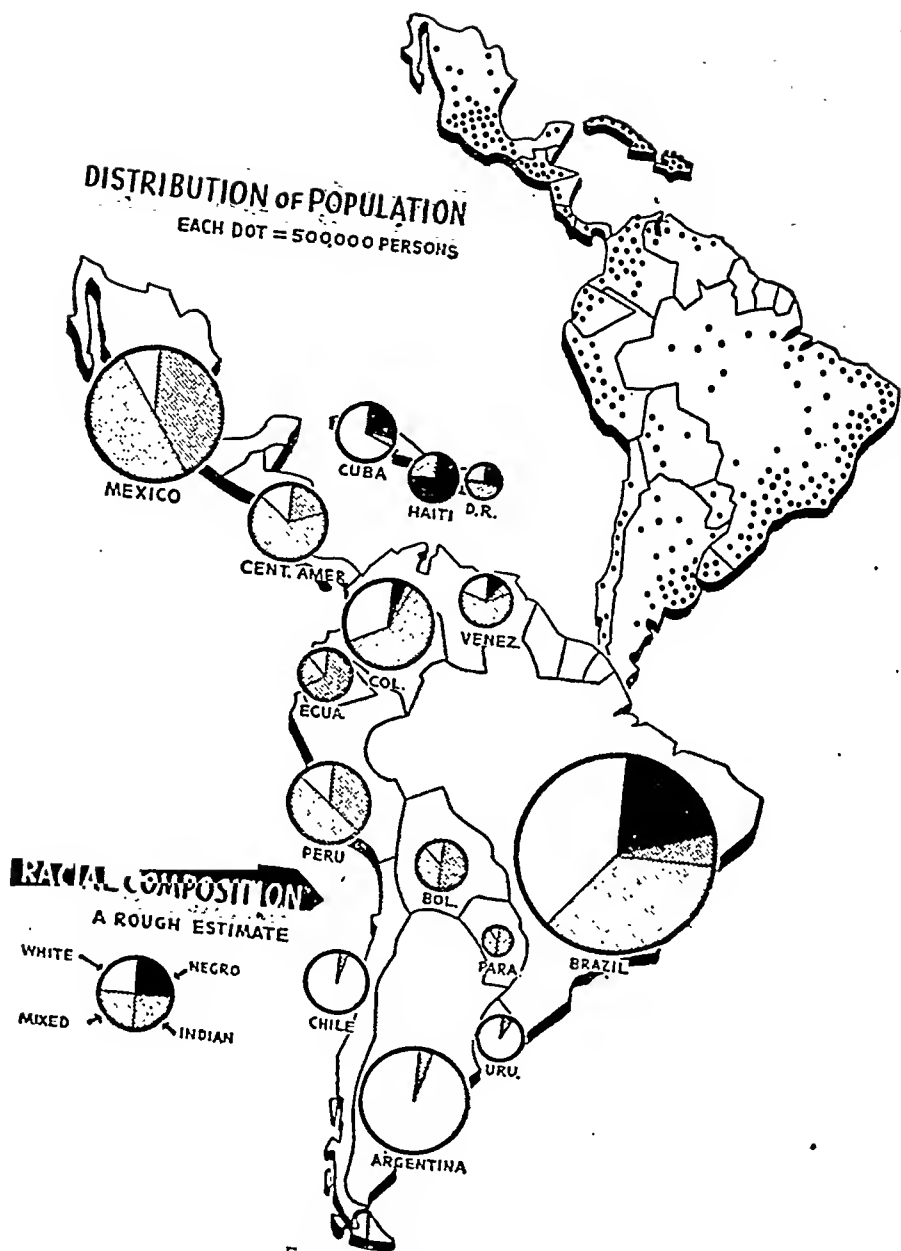
Racial Composition of Latin America. Black, white, brown, yellow—the kaleidoscope of faces shifts and changes before the eyes of the visitor to Panama. Standing in the doorway of one of the many East Indian stores, he sees Spaniards, Barbadian Negroes, North Americans, Indians, Chinese, and every conceivable combination of these and other races surge past him. Quite possible, you say, for he is standing at the crossways of the Americas, where such a mixture of peoples could be expected.

But the fusion of peoples, experiences, and ideas is one of the outstanding characteristics, not alone of Panama, nor even of the whole Caribbean area, but of all Latin America. We can never hope to understand its people if we do not know something of their varied heritage. The belief in racial equality, which is so strong in the mind of the Latin American, and in which he differs so much from most North Americans, is due to his inheritance from the past.

Most of Latin America is made up of three principal stocks—the Indian, the Iberian, and the Negro. The Indian is still predominant as to blood in some countries, but the culture of the Iberian (Spanish and Portuguese) holds first place throughout Latin America.

The Iberian Influence. The Spaniards and the Portuguese came to the New World well fitted in many ways to establish a culture which would make and retain for itself a place in a new world. Theirs was a culture which was already a blending of diverse elements. Phoenicians and Carthaginians sailed early to the accessible shores of Spain. Rome conquered the whole land so thoroughly that for a time Hispania was possibly the most Roman of all the dominions. When the Roman Empire began to decline, Germanic tribes swept down from the north, and in 415 founded the Visigothic kingdom in Spain which lasted for nearly 300 years. The strongest influx of foreign settlers came through the long Moorish occupation, which lasted about seven centuries. This invasion brought to Spain many Oriental influences which it has never lost.

It was just after the long struggle with the Arabs, who had made important contributions to Spanish life, that Spain undertook the conquest of America. Because of the protracted religious wars against the Moors the Spaniard was influenced by religious as well as material reasons. Spain was eager to win riches, territory, and power, but she was also eager to win adherents to Christianity



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Distribution of Population and Racial Composition in Latin America

and to explore new frontiers. The spiritual impulse may explain in part the incredible courage of the Spanish conquerors of the Americas. Sometimes they seemed cruel, covetous, and fanatical; but, in the face of seemingly impossible obstacles, they were brave and tenacious. Such people were bound to leave lasting results.

The Indian Element. If the Spaniards who came to America had an international background, so did most of the Indian races with whom they mixed their blood to create the Latin Americans of today. There were uncivilized tribes, like those with whom our ancestors waged war in North America, but the greater part of the aboriginal population belonged to the highly civilized groups which were, like the Iberians, the result of the mingling of different cultures. There were great variations in these ancient cultures, to be sure, but they had certain basic characteristics which were alike. The three greatest were those of the Aztecs in central Mexico, the Mayas in southeastern Mexico and Central America, and the Incas in South America. The mighty empire of the latter stretched from Ecuador through Peru and Bolivia to Argentina and Chile. In the centers of these empires, there developed a civilization in which the cultures of older, more geographically limited races were fused.

These Indians had, in varying degrees, according to the scope and stage of their advancement, many accomplishments. They had an elaborate system of architecture, a mastery of handicrafts, mathematics, and some science, a complex political structure, and, in the case of the Mayas and Az-

tecs, an elaborate system of picture writing. Most of the native rulers whom the Spaniards encountered were intelligent and versed in the arts. So far as racial relations are concerned, there has been nothing discovered as yet which would indicate that the Mayas, the Incas, the Aztecs, or any other early American people had race prejudices. Although their religious practices were often cruel when judged by present-day standards, their beliefs indicate a basic conception of the unity of the universe and the equality of men.

As soon as the most important chiefs had been disposed of and resistance crushed, the conquerors felt assured of their freedom to control and exploit the country's riches. Then they intermarried with Indian women. Later, the Emperor Charles V decreed that no obstacle be placed in the way of marriage between Spaniards and Indians. Economically, the Indian has been terribly exploited by the whites from the conquest down to the present time, but fortunately he has never been socially segregated from them. This explains why most of the Spanish Americans of today are neither Spaniards nor Indians. They are *mestizos*, a mixture of the two. Let us note this word. It is important, for the mestizo dominates most of the Southern republics in numbers.

How the Spaniard was later willing to honor the worthy Indian is shown in the life of the great Inca historian, Garcilaso de la Vega. He was born in Cuzco in 1537, the son of the Garcilaso de la Vega, one of Pizarro's companions, and of an Inca princess. The young mestizo grew up in the old capital of the Inca state, amid the

ruins of the empire's glory. He listened to the sad stories of his mother's family, Inca princes and princesses who lamented the loss of their former grandeur and power.

Young Garcilaso received an education in Latin, Castilian (the language of culture in Spain), and the other branches of learning thought suitable for a gentleman's son. Of course, he also spoke fluently the Quechua tongue, the language of his mother. While he was in school, he became acquainted with other boys of Spanish and Indian blood, who listened as eagerly as he himself to the tales of their royal Inca relatives.

The father of the young Inca died in 1559. The son determined to seek his fortune in his father's country. In 1560 he left Cuzco, never to return. He followed a military career for a time; then, though poor, he decided to devote himself to literary pursuits. While living in a modest house in the city of Córdoba during his lonely old age, he composed his famous history of the Inca Empire. It is to the brilliant work of Garcilaso de la Vega that the world owes most of its knowledge of the remarkable Inca civilization.

When the liberators succeeded in forming the new republics, they granted the Indians the same political rights as the whites. Unfortunately, they did not also recognize and restore their economic rights, nor encourage them to take their rightful place in the social life. The poor barefoot Indian, patiently bearing his heavy load, has been left standing in the dust at the side of the road while civilization thundered by. For centuries he has been used as a means of transporta-

tion or an instrument of production. There are two ways of looking at this problem. Some countries, like the United States, set the Indian apart and keep him by himself on a "reservation." Other countries are now trying to fit him into their national life and add his contribution to their culture.

The Negro Element. In considering Brazil and the tropical sections of the Caribbean countries, we must add the African to the Iberian and Indian strains. The Negroes were early brought to Brazil as slaves. It is interesting to know that the good intentions of a priest were responsible for the first importation of slave labor. The priest was Bartolomé de Las Casas, the "Apostle of the Indians."

The father and uncle of Las Casas accompanied Columbus on his second voyage to America. Bartolomé stayed at home and graduated in law at the famous University of Salamanca. But there was much talk in Spain about the Indies, and stories of their fabulous wealth were brought back by every ship. It was natural that young Las Casas should want to see these romantic lands for himself. When he arrived in Hispaniola, the governor gave him an estate. With it, according to the customs of the time, he received a number of Indians to work the land.

A sermon on the responsibilities of the white man toward the Indian made a deep impression on Las Casas. The experience marked the end of his life as lord of a colonial estate, and the beginning of his long and determined fight for the welfare of the Indians. He himself became a priest, one of the first to be ordained in

America. He worked diligently among the Indians and by his kindliness many of them in Southern Mexico became Christians. He saw that they were totally unaccustomed and unsuited to the labor in the forests and in the mines which was part of the white man's program. Padre Las Casas thought he could save them by having Africans brought to work as slaves. But before his death he repented bitterly of the injustice he had done the Negroes. He was a great man. He spent his life, and endured sickness and great privation in his work for justice. He helped the natives to such an extent that he was called "Protector of the Indians."

The Southern republics freed their slaves early in the nineteenth century. Chile began the movement in 1811, when it passed a measure providing that all persons born in Chile should be free, and all slaves who were born on the nation's soil should thereby become free. No civil war, like the one fought in the United States, was necessary to bring about the emancipation of slaves in any Latin-American country. In spite of economic injustices, there has been little discrimination against Negroes as a race.

The Republic of Haiti is a striking memorial to its Negro founder, Toussaint L'Ouverture, sometimes called the "Black Napoleon." Toussaint was born on a plantation in 1743, the son of full-blooded Negro parents. He was unusually intelligent, and somehow learned to read, write, and draw. In one of the books loaned to him by a friendly priest, the boy found a prophecy that one day from among the slaves would rise a chief to lead them to liberty. From that time on he felt

that it was he who would be the liberator. His opportunity came in 1791, when the slaves, learning about the French Revolution, rose against their French masters. Toussaint did not take part in the original insurrection, for he did not believe in unrestrained violence. In a short time, however, he was made leader of an organized group of Negroes. Later, after the freedom of the slaves had been accepted, he made himself the ruler of the whole island. He undertook the reorganization and rebuilding of Haiti. His capacity for hard work and his good sense brought back order and gave the island the best government it had ever known. It was a fatal day for Toussaint when Napoleon came to power in France. The Little Corsican sent an armed force to restore slavery to Haiti and subjugate Toussaint. Toussaint was seized and taken to France as a prisoner. The hardships he suffered there caused his death in 1803. But the country he founded and for which he died lives proudly on. An American orator has said: "I would call him Napoleon, but Napoleon made his way to empire over broken oaths and through a sea of blood. This man never broke his word. . . . I would call him Washington, but the great Virginian held slaves. This man risked his empire rather than permit the slave trade in the humblest village of his dominions."

In times past, no matter whether European or Indian blood was held to be superior, the Negro was thought inferior. In some parts of Latin America it is now believed that the Negro may be important in adding contentment to the haughty Spanish and

the stolid Indian types, and in helping in adjustment to environment. The black man's happy attitude toward life has been a more efficient means of resistance than the stoicism of the Indian. Brazil is committed to a policy of developing all races into a unified people. The Negro minority is gradually disappearing through absorption into the general population. Today there is practically no "color bar" in Latin America except that introduced and retained by Anglo-Saxons.

Intellectual, social, and artistic relationships between Indians, whites, and Negroes are already bringing distinctive American attitudes. The pooling of all these interests may be a long way off. But time is on the side of America if it can escape the poisonous ideas of the totalitarian and racial-superiority conceptions of life.

RACIAL TENDENCIES TODAY

Within this larger racial conception, there are clearly visible three distinctive racial tendencies. These are notable in the three largest countries of Latin America, Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico.

Brazil's Experiment. Brazil is aiming for a "cosmic" or universal race. She is making an interesting experiment in race mixture. She believes in absorbing all the peoples within her borders. At one extreme in the population of Brazil is a large number of Negroes, who came as slaves from Africa. At the other extreme is an increasing number of Japanese. These totaled about 200,000 in 1940. As for the African population, a leading Brazilian scientist predicts that within fifty years all Negroes will have been

absorbed. In the eighteenth century Brazil brought into the country about two million slaves. In the early years of the nineteenth century she realized the evils of slavery and began gradually to free different classes of slaves. In 1888, when Brazil was ready to eliminate slavery completely, there were only about 400,000 left. The pure Africans are estimated today at about 5,000,000, living in the north-central part of Brazil, especially in the state of Bahia. That population is getting whiter with each decade.

The population of Brazil in 1942 was estimated at 45,000,000. At the beginning of the last century it was less than 4,000,000. The tribal Indian element of the population has been violently reduced by the invasion of the white man with his exploitation and foreign diseases. Some authorities estimate this population as low as 500,000. The Negroes as well as the Indians have been steadily decreasing. Only the whites maintain their numerical superiority, both by a greater proportional natural increase and by the influx of immigration. What particular color will predominate as one walks along the streets of a Brazilian city a hundred years from now does not seem to bother the people today. What is desired is that all shall be loyal Brazilians. The valiant fight that leading Brazilians are making to keep race prejudice out of their country is shown by a book written by thirty-four Brazilian authors, who combined to protest against efforts from the outside to introduce a movement against the Jews.

White Argentina. Argentina has distinctly turned to the supremacy of the white race. European influence

has always been stronger in this country than in any other on the continent. The dominant industry of raising cattle and selling them in Europe never called particularly for African slaves or for the nomadic Indian tribes. As early as 1852, the total population was estimated at 1,200,000. Of this number, 553,000 were mestizos, 100,000 were Indians, and 115,000 were Negroes. In those days two great Argentine leaders whom we shall discuss later—Domingo Faustino Sarmiento and Juan Bautista Alberdi—urged Argentina to enlarge her population by immigration from Europe.

General Julio Roca led a military movement in Argentina, much like that of General Custer and others in the United States, to drive the Indians from the desirable agricultural lands into the outlying districts. These good lands came into the possession of the government. They were distributed to the soldiers and sold to the immigrants who began to pour in from Europe. Land values multiplied. European capital began to build railroads and port works. Argentina started rapidly on her way to prosperity, dominated by capitalism and the white race. Recent figures give the estimated population of Argentina as 13,129,723. Only one million is estimated as non-white. Three Latin-European races—Italian, Spanish, and French—dominate the republic. They are followed by the Germans, English, Swiss, Austrians, Poles, Scandinavians, and Slavs in the order named. Little Uruguay, Argentina's next-door neighbor to the north, is just as definitely white. Other countries which are predominantly white include Chile and Costa Rica.

Mexico Turns Indian. Mexico is almost as dominantly Indian as Argentina is white. The policy of the government since the beginning of the new social movement, the "Revolution," in 1910, is definitely to emphasize the Indian element. The government official, the school teacher, the engineer, the missionary—every Mexican patriot, in fact, is urged to take an interest in the Indian. His land, which the foreigner and the Mexican landlord took away from him, must be restored. His art—his weaving, his dances, his folklore—must be restored. Schools must be organized to train him to meet conditions of today. The Indian and the mestizo predominate and should receive first attention.

Along with Mexico, other countries where the Indian influence is especially important are Guatemala, Ecuador, Peru, Paraguay, and Bolivia. Other countries where the Indian influence is strong are El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Colombia, and Venezuela. None of these countries, however, has as definitely turned its attention to developing the Indians as Mexico has. The wandering lowland tribes in South America are rapidly dwindling in numbers. The highland Indians, descendants of the civilized agricultural tribes, are gaining. In 1650 colonial authorities estimated the aborigines at 13,000,000. Today they are calculated at 20,000,000. There is a group of young patriots who insist that the Indians are so important that the proper name for these lands should be not Latin America, but Indo-America. This group lays great stress on the education of the aboriginal population and the elimination of foreign dominance.



Photo from Monkmeyer Press Photo Service

In Latin America there are many open-air markets like this one at Toluca, Mexico. Some of them are so crowded with pots and jars, fruits and vegetables, hats and blankets that it is hard to walk through them. Each Indian likes to sell his own wares and to bargain with the customers.

RACIAL RELATIONS

MODERN IMMIGRATION

Latin Americans, with their characteristic lack of racial prejudice, have welcomed immigration. Simón Bolívar, the Great Liberator, himself said: "We ought to induce immigration of the peoples of North America and Europe, in order that they may settle here and bring us their arts and sciences." Argentine leaders like Alberdi and Sarmiento advocated it a hundred years ago for the good of their country. Modern leaders have the same ideas, although the fear of European communism and Nazism has caused them to stiffen their immigration restrictions.

Obstacles to Progress. From the standpoint of the immigrants, four great difficulties have been found in the past. One is the system of great landed estates, commonly known as *haciendas*, which prevails in most of these countries. Some of them are so huge that one can travel for days without ever leaving the limits of a single estate. The income from an estate like this is sufficient to enable its owner to live in luxury in the city, so he has little reason or desire to develop his land intensively. With such a system, the immigrant must become a day laborer, or, at best, a renter. This is no doubt a principal reason why more than 2,000,000 of the immigrants who have come to Argentina during the last seventy years have returned to their homes. Mexico is the only country that has taken serious steps to break up these huge estates. She has, however, done so with the intention of helping her own people rather than attracting outsiders.

Again, the many revolutions which have occurred in Latin America have also deterred immigration. They destroy social life and progress and make people afraid that the new government will not abide by the promises of the former one.

A third difficulty is the lack of educational facilities in many new territories. Latin America is just beginning to pay attention to rural education. This lack of educational facilities, incidentally, explains in a large measure why foreign-language schools have been so popular in Latin America, and why children of immigrants often retained the national characteristics of their parents. Mexico is leading in trying to educate the mass of her people. The fourth obstacle with which the immigrant has had to contend is the lack in most of these countries of good titles to land holdings. Gradually these difficulties are being reduced by fewer revolutions and greater assurance of order and educational privileges.

Number of Immigrants. Modern immigration from Europe to Latin America began in the early part of the nineteenth century. People came to Latin America usually for the same reasons that they came to the United States: political upheavals in Europe; lack of opportunity in the older countries; growth and expansion of the New World, with the corresponding need for workers to develop land and industries.

In South America the number of Italian immigrants exceeds that of any other nationality. Buenos Aires has become as great an Italian city as Rome. Brazil has more than 2,000,000 people of Italian descent. Over

1,000,000 are in the state of São Paulo, which is much like northern Italy in climate. This Italian population is easily fused into the land of its adoption, and the Italians become loyal Latin Americans. Spaniards, of course, are found in all these lands in large proportions, except in Brazil, where the Portuguese were the original basis of the European population.

The English, the Scots, and other foreigners form small groups, but they are very influential. Brown, Edwards, Nelson—these and other similar names appear frequently in the early records of the struggle for independence. The visitor to Latin America who is not familiar with its racial background may be surprised to meet people of characteristically Latin appearance, only to find them bearing Anglo-Saxon names.

Poles, Russians, and people of the Balkans are scattered through sections of eastern South America. Turks, Armenians, and East Indians are found by the hundreds of thousands in Brazil, Guiana, Panama, and the islands of the Caribbean. Chinese are found chiefly in Panama, Peru, Mexico, and Cuba. In Habana there are reported to be about 80,000 Chinese, many of whom have been stranded there in a vain effort to enter the United States. The Japanese are strong in Brazil and in Peru, where they have many schools and cultural associations.

The Germans were among the earliest immigrants to South America. Many of them came to Brazil at the invitation of the Emperor Dom Pedro II. He realized what vast spaces and resources in his country were unsettled and untouched, so he made

definite plans to attract immigrants in large numbers. Agents were sent to Europe to seek desirable settlers; shipping companies were offered subsidies for every passage made; often free transportation to the region of their choice was provided for immigrants. The first group of Germans came to Rio Grande do Sul, the southernmost state of Brazil, in the 1820's. After that, they came in waves, settling largely in Brazil's three southernmost states. In 1848 a group of Germans came to southern Chile. It is hard to estimate satisfactorily the number of people of German blood in Latin America at the present time. German sources claim a million in Brazil, and about the same total for all the other countries combined.

Jews have settled in Latin America since colonial days. But the number has considerably increased since their persecution by Hitler. There are some 16,000 Jews in Mexico, 80,000 in Brazil, 60,000 in Chile, and 10,000 in Colombia. Argentina has 300,000 Jews, the twelfth largest Hebrew population in the world. Buenos Aires has four Jewish banks. Two daily papers and numerous reviews are printed in Yiddish. The Jews have contributed much to the development of Latin-American culture. Jews run printing presses in Mexico, raise tobacco in the Dominican Republic, make furniture in Rio de Janeiro, conduct co-operatives in Montevideo, run a hospital in Buenos Aires, farm in large colonies in northern Argentina, teach in the University of Santiago, Chile, run a textile factory in La Paz, Bolivia, conduct an international bookstore in Lima, act as hosts in a modern hotel in Guayaquil. All these things they

do with vigor, intelligence, and patriotism.

North Americans have exerted little influence as far as immigration is concerned. There have been a few attempted colonial ventures. After the close of the War between the States in the United States, some disappointed Southerners went to Brazil, but most of their colonies were unsuccessful. More recently, "Alfalfa Bill" Murray of Oklahoma secured a large tract of land in eastern Bolivia, where he expected to take a number of families to develop a modern colony. This venture, too, proved unsuccessful. Before the Revolution of 1910 there were about 40,000 United States citizens in Mexico, but the majority of these returned home when the revolution took place. In general, the citizen of the United States is not interested in making his home permanently in a Latin-American country. He travels there because of his business interests. He may remain several months or even years, but he almost never considers himself anything but a visitor, ready at a moment's notice to take the next boat or plane for home. The comparatively few colonists from the United States who have adapted themselves to local conditions and made friends with the citizens of the country have grown to love Latin America. But usually they confine their social life to "American" clubs, chambers of commerce, schools, and churches.

North American business has always been largely dependent on agencies conducted by Germans, British, and other Europeans. In the city of Valparaíso, in 1940, there were only five United States businessmen in posi-

tions of any importance. All the large North American firms had as their managers Scotsmen, Germans, and other Europeans. Investigations made by the United States State Department and the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs revealed that a very large number of North American firms were represented in Latin America by Germans, many of whom were using their American connections to aid in Nazi propaganda. All of this means that business and political relationships between North Americans and Latin Americans are not usually smoothed by intimate social contacts. In all of South America there were, in 1940, only 17,787 North American residents, 3,000 of whom live in Argentina, 4,240 in Brazil, 1,281 in Chile, and 3,394 in Venezuela. Mexico has the largest number of United States citizens, with 13,014; 7,222 live in Panama; 5,531 in Cuba; and 3,158 in the Dominican Republic (these figures as reported in January, 1941). In Brazil the North American colony numbers 4,240 whereas there are 1,000,000 Germans. Argentina has 3,000 North Americans as compared with 300,000 Germans. This is in itself an important commentary on the topic we shall discuss concerning the spiritual influence of foreign countries on Latin-American people.

The Refugee Question. Immigration to the New World has been increased to some extent in recent years by those who seek a haven from the persecutions of Fascist governments abroad. As the number of refugees from Europe grows and their plight becomes worse, we recognize one of the greatest challenges ever presented to the kindly hearts of humanity. The

cry of these wanderers is voiced by the notable and sensitive Spanish musician Adolfo Salazar, who, exiled by the Franco government because of his liberal views, found refuge in Mexico.

In the silence of my Mexican study, facing a horizon of mountains and clouds, there is peace and solitude; but with us refugees there is only tribulation. We Spanish writers have lost everything: country, family, friends, and a means of livelihood. Worse than this, some of us have lost our faith in the destiny of man, our belief in humanity. This faith Mexico's large cordiality is doing everything possible to restore. . . . In the crisis which the world is experiencing, I have but one desire—to drink ever deeper of the clear, refreshing fountain of knowledge. It seems to me that only thus may we men of thought pay our homage to Humanity.

Problems connected with immigration in Latin America have recently assumed a new aspect. This is due to the expulsion of the Jews and other people of liberal views from Germany. The war has greatly increased the problem. In spite of America's century-long reputation as a refuge for European liberals, the United States and Latin America had, up to 1942, received a total of only about 300,000 refugees. Half of them came to Latin America. Exiled from Germany, Spain, and other lands because of their liberal views and intellectual training, they bring with them great gifts in the form of outstanding scholarship and technical ability. If these gifts are used properly, they can help a great deal in lifting the economic and educational levels and fulfilling the promise of Latin America. The refugees have proved their devotion to the ideal of democracy at the cost of exile from their homes, and they

can be of real help in furthering the democracy of the Americas.

Many of the factors that have discouraged immigration in these countries are now disappearing. Science is contributing heavily to eliminate the drawbacks of the tropics. Tropical diseases are being conquered. A greater degree of physical comfort is being assured by developments in air conditioning and refrigeration. Political life is becoming more stable and liberties are more secure. Rubber, tropical fruits, coffee, and other tropical products are increasingly demanded by the rest of the world. However, Latin America is not growing in population as rapidly as might be expected. One reason for this is the recent rise of nationalism which tends to close doors to foreign immigration. Southern statesmen should consider that fairly dense populations are usually necessary to impel social and inventive processes and that sparsely settled countries find it difficult to command influence in the modern world.

PROPAGANDA IN LATIN AMERICA

The activities of foreign residents in attempting to dominate the thought life of the Southern republics has recently taken on the name of propaganda. These activities are nothing new. And propaganda in itself is not bad. It is simply an organized effort to spread certain ideas and to get other people to accept them. Most of the powerful nations have used propaganda in an attempt to persuade the Latin American that the culture, the goods, and the government of a particular country were the best for Latin America. We cannot under-

stand the propaganda used today unless we see the where, how, and why of propaganda in the past.

Cultural Character of European Propaganda. Both in theory and in practice, European nations have organized their propaganda for Latin America from a cultural point of view. They present their contributions to literature, education, philosophy, and religion with the idea in mind of attracting the favorable attention of the nation whose interest and friendship is desired. Probably the best job of spreading propaganda in Latin America was done by France. For many years the French government had a department whose whole duty has been the advancement of the national standing of France in other countries. This division always had a large budget and able workers. Both were used to the best advantage. From colonial times it has been the ambition of Latin-American youths to be educated in France. To the well-dressed woman in a Southern republic, just as in the United States, a Parisian frock represented perfection. French was the language of diplomacy. In Latin America France has stood as the symbol of culture for a hundred years. All this is no accident, but the outcome of long, well-directed efforts.

Economic Character of United States Propaganda. The United States has presented propaganda, also, but of a very different kind. In the past the approach has been economic. Business and trade have dominated relations with other countries. Citizens of the United States have often insisted that the only way to develop friendship with Latin America is through trade. United States diplomacy has

been engaged chiefly in protecting American business. In Mexico, particularly, our ambassador has considered himself the advocate of the petroleum companies rather than the promoter of a positive program of understanding between the countries. Latin America has naturally assumed that the United States is more interested in trade than in culture. Representatives of the United States have "talked business" so consistently that it has been hard for the Latin American to believe that any motive other than buying or selling could bring them to the Southern republics.

Within the past few years, however, the United States has been encouraging cultural relationships as well as fostering trade with Latin America. A Division of Cultural Relations has been established in the State Department. Students of Latin America and the United States, in increased numbers, are being sent to study in each other's schools. A greater emphasis is being given to the study of Spanish and Portuguese. But the United States government is still largely dependent upon individual effort, and that of private companies, to carry on its propaganda in the New World. Increasing government control may bring more unified and effective propaganda.

Importance of Axis Propaganda in Latin America. The propaganda of the Axis nations, Italy, Japan, and Germany, has been of different degrees of importance. Italy has done very little propagandizing in spite of the fact that a great many Italians live in South America. As has been mentioned before, these Italians are assimilated so readily into Latin America that they present no great problem

of divided allegiance. They feel themselves to be loyal Latin Americans, and that is the way they act. The Japanese are not so easily assimilated. Brazil has encouraged their mixture with Europeans, Negroes, and mestizos to make a "cosmic" race, but most of them have continued to be loyal to Japan.

German propaganda began many years ago in Latin America. This propaganda soon became very effective, through the cultural approach. With the advent of Hitler in 1933 German propaganda took on the precision of a military machine. The large numbers of Germans concentrated in Chile, Argentina, and southern Brazil made a good basis for the spread of Nazi propaganda, and it is in those areas that the most serious problems lie. The spreading of propaganda is as definite and well organized a part of the German war effort as any military campaign—and as strictly controlled by the government. The embassies and the consulates became the center of this elaborate campaign. The cultural and press attachés of the embassies spent a great deal of money, many times as much as was spent by the United States. Newspapers were bought up, filled with propaganda, sold very cheaply, and distributed free to military men. German schools became agencies for the preaching of Nazi philosophy. Powerful short-wave stations in the fatherland sent carefully planned programs to Latin America. Groups of Latin-American businessmen and students were taken to Germany as the guests of the government. They were taken on specially conducted tours, then at night put on the radio to tell their friends

and families at home what wonderful things they had seen. Nazi diplomatic officials made careful card files of all Germans in South America, and, if they did not co-operate when the Nazis wanted them to, there were devious ways of applying pressure. A man's business would suddenly begin to fall off, or he would hear unhappy news from his relatives in Germany.

The Nazi propaganda was directed toward three main ideas: first, the greatness of Germany and its Führer; second, the failure of democracy and the United States; third, the doctrine of anti-Semitism. In a booklet prepared by Propaganda Minister Goebbels in August, 1942, the following appeared under the title, *From God's Own Country*:

The climax of their (the Americans') technical inventions is the icebox and the built-in closet. This country, which is waging war against the oldest cultural peoples of Europe and Asia, does not itself own a permanent theater or opera house. The U. S. A. does not possess one poet, artist, architect, or composer of world stature. This country does not possess its own language; it has no culture of its own. According to official American statistics, there are in New York 190 Protestant churches, 430 Catholic churches, as against 1000 synagogues . . . Everything is junk and fake. As to God's own country, well, it was the Europeans who discovered it, it is Europeans who still today give it life, and if it were put on its own feet, it would soon again become desert.

Before long, the Latin Americans became tired of the Nazi efforts and began to see the danger that was confronting them. They passed laws strictly controlling all foreign schools, in many cases entirely forbidding them. They prohibited meetings in

which discussions were carried on in a foreign language. It was during this period that the Nazi propaganda was driven underground and became exceedingly destructive, productive of fifth-column activities of all sorts. The daring work of exposing German schemes was due to young friends of democracy like Fernández Artucio, professor of philosophy in the University of Montevideo. The story of his struggle and the activities of the Germans can be read in English in his book, *The Nazi Underground in South America*. It was in Uruguay that the real effort to dislodge the Nazis began. At the Pan-American Conference at Rio de Janeiro in January, 1942, all the American republics appointed a committee to work toward

the elimination of the propaganda of all the Axis powers.

How to prevent the virus of racial hatreds entering Latin America from the outside world is one of the most difficult jobs facing the continent. Whichever way the military struggle is settled, the war of cultures will no doubt continue. Our Southern neighbors may be swayed momentarily by this or that series of outside events. However, their greatest desire is to be governed, not by foreigners, but by themselves. The foreign influences that will be most acceptable will undoubtedly be those that show the greatest tendency to aid the Latin Americans to enjoy social justice, economic prosperity, and spiritual independence.

TEST YOURSELF!

A. Can You Identify These People? The following names are important in the story of racial development in Latin America. For each statement, write within the parentheses the letter of the name which matches it. Notice that there are two more names than statements.

- a. Garcilaso de la Vega
- b. Bartolomé de las Casas
- c. Domingo Sarmiento
- d. Fernández Artucio
- e. Toussaint L'Ouverture

- f. General Julio Roca
- g. Simón Bolívar
- h. Adolfo Salazar
- i. Joseph Goebbels
- j. "Alfalfa Bill" Murray

- () 1. Negro leader of the revolt of Haiti for independence from France
- () 2. The Argentine "General Custer," who drove the Indians off the good lands
- () 3. The "Protector of the Indians," who opposed their enslavement by Spanish colonists
- () 4. Son of an Inca princess, who wrote the history of the Inca Empire
- () 5. The Uruguayan professor who wrote *The Nazi Underground in South America*
- () 6. The Nazi Minister of Propaganda, who has directed activities in Latin America
- () 7. An Argentine who favored a large immigration from Europe
- () 8. The independence leader of South America, who wanted many immigrants to come with their arts and sciences

B. Can You Distinguish between Facts and Opinions? Some of the following statements are facts given in the textbook, others are opinions which the book discusses, and still others are opinions *not* mentioned in the book. If the statement is a fact, encircle the letter F. If it is an opinion found in the book, encircle the letters OD; if an opinion not in the book, encircle ON.

- F OD ON 1. The Department of State has established a Division of Cultural Relations to improve our contacts with Latin America.
- F OD ON 2. In 1942 all the American republics appointed a committee to combat Axis propaganda.
- F OD ON 3. United States movies are the best propaganda we could possibly use in Latin America.
- F OD ON 4. Brazil believes in the intermixture of all the races in the country.
- F OD ON 5. Brazil's racial policy is wiser than the racial policy of the United States.
- F OD ON 6. A mestizo is a person of mixed white and Indian blood.
- F OD ON 7. It is unfortunate that the Indians were not segregated from their white conquerors.

C. Have You Mastered the Essentials of the Race Problems of Latin America? The following statements, covering some of the main points of the chapter, need to be completed by the correct choice from the list of phrases which follow each one. Select the phrase which correctly completes each statement, and draw a circle around its letter.

- The three great racial elements in Latin America are the Indian, the Negro, and the
a. Japanese b. Iberian c. Italian d. German
- In general, the Spanish and Portuguese policy toward the Indians was that of
a. killing them off c. exploiting and intermarrying
b. leaving them undisturbed d. adopting the Indian religions
- At the present time the nation which seems to do most to encourage its Indian culture is
a. Mexico b. Argentina c. Brazil d. Peru
- Of the following countries, the one from which the fewest immigrants have entered Latin America is
a. the United States b. Italy c. Japan d. Germany
- Examine carefully the map on page 28. Using the information which it gives, *encircle* the letter of the country in this list which has the highest proportion of Negroes in its population, and *underline* the country with the highest proportion of white population
a. Brazil b. Haiti c. Cuba d. Argentina e. Mexico

D. Correspondence or Class Assignments. (See general instructions under this heading, p. viii.)

1. Racial ideas are playing a very important part in the present war, as you know. Write a paragraph comparing the racial policies of Nazi Germany with those of Brazil. In a second paragraph explain which policy you consider better for the future of the world, and why.

2. You probably don't agree with Dr. Goebbels's description of United States culture in *From God's Own Country*. Write a reply of one or two paragraphs which you would consider suitable for Latin Americans to read.

3. Using your knowledge of United States history, write a comparison of the treatment of the Indians in North America with that in Latin America.

E. Suggestions for Extra Reading

Inman, Samuel Guy, *Latin America, Its Place in World Life*. Ch. 2.

Raushenbush, Joan, *Look at Latin America*. Ch. 3.

Williams, Mary W., *People and Politics of Latin America*. Ch. 10.

III. GEOGRAPHY AND GEOPOLITICS

How many maps have you seen in show windows and newspapers in the last month? Without counting the number, you may be sure that it was a great many more than you saw ten years ago. The reason for this is that the world has become geography-minded. We know now how basic geography is in the life of the world and its people. The Germans have invented a new word for the intimate relationships between seas, mountains, deserts, rivers, and the foreign policy of governments. They call it geopolitics. The great discoverers of the fifteenth century showed the world the importance of geography as they rounded Cape Horn at the end of South America and the Cape of Good Hope near the tip of Africa, adding huge territories and great power to Spain and Portugal. England, France, Holland, and later the United States, all struggled for possession of the islands of the Caribbean—not because the islands themselves were so important, but because the geopolitics involved were important. The country that controlled these islands gained thereby an important influence on the American continent. Today some barren little island, thousands of miles out in the sea, may, all of a sudden, become of as much concern to a nation as one of its populous, wealthy

cities. In the study of Latin America, geography thus becomes the liveliest possible topic, for it is intimately connected with the fight for freedom the world around.

CONTINENTAL DEFENSE

The Battle of the Continents is the name sometimes given to the second World War. Five mighty military centers developed: Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, and America. The leader that succeeded in controlling any two of these continents might control the world. The idea that the whole American continent would stand or fall together, the idea expressed by President Monroe in the famous Monroe Doctrine, is stronger today than ever before.

In the blackout of war, the flashlight of defense is focused on these points: Iceland to the northeast, the Strait of Magellan at the south, Puerto Rico and Natal to the east, Hawaii and the Galápagos Islands on the west. These mark the continents we defend. They are united in the middle by the Panama Canal, which is the heart, located in the center of the continental body. Every American—not simply the admirals and the members of the general staff—has a new incentive to know these and the intervening points of the home he defends.

A Bird's-Eye View of the Continents. Take your stand at Panama—with Balboa, "silent upon a peak in Darien"—a little mountain from which both the Pacific he discovered and the Atlantic which bore him to America can be seen. Great battleships, small destroyers, submarines, and bombing planes are passing back and forth in and above the canal. Parallel to the present locks that lift the mighty ships up from the Atlantic level and down again to the Pacific is a third set of locks being rushed to completion. Tens of thousands of men and machines are making the American life-line stronger for the defense of democracy. To the east, lie the 1,200 islands of the Caribbean. Farthest away toward Europe lies the United States' newly militarized Puerto Rico, and its three little sentinels, the Virgin Islands. Nearer to our back door is Guantánamo, the naval base leased to the United States by Cuba. Between are friendly Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Scattered over the sea are the English, Dutch, and French islands, reminders of the former powerful influences of these nations in America. Only the French islands hold potential danger, for, in 1940, Great Britain granted military bases to the United States in the Bahamas, Bermuda, Jamaica, Antigua, Santa Lucia, Trinidad, and British Guiana. These colonies, with the exception of the small space for military bases, still belong to Great Britain, but the co-operation thus established will, in the future, probably lead to the even closer relation of these places with the United States.

Two Dutch islands, Curaçao and Aruba, just off the north coast of

Venezuela are of great importance, both because of their nearness to Panama and because of their great oil refineries, which process the petroleum from the fields of Venezuela. These islands were occupied by United States' soldiers at the request of Holland, when that country was invaded by the Nazis in 1940. The French colonies, the largest of which are Guadeloupe, Martinique, and French Guiana, continued to be a threat. Therefore, in the 1940 conference at Habana, arrangements were made for a joint Pan-American Commission to take these over if Hitler tried to take them forcibly away from France. All of these places mentioned are Atlantic approaches to the Panama Canal. By 1942 they had all come under the temporary military control of the United States.

Face about at your observation post at Darien and look west. The few small dots just outside the canal entrance are under the United States flag. North of Panama the first important point is Fonseca Bay. The proposed Nicaraguan Canal, which is not likely soon to be built, would have its Pacific entrance in this bay. It washes the shores of El Salvador and Honduras as well as Nicaragua. The United States secured the right to fortify this bay in 1914, along with the right to build the Nicaraguan Canal. From Fonseca Bay, to the north, the next strategic point in Latin America is the Magdalena Bay in Lower California, a territory of Mexico, one of the United Nations.

Now turn your eyes south again, past Panama. It is 535 miles to the southwest before the eyes light on outposts similar in size to any one of a

number of Caribbean islands. These are the Galápagos. They are the neglected children of Ecuador. A human being, unless he be some wandering naturalist or the survivor of a shipwrecked crew, seldom sees these islands. But all of a sudden, when Japan attacked Australia, these islands became important. They are possible bases for an air thrust at Panama. In 1942 the United States arranged with Ecuador to fortify the islands. This may mean the beginning of civilized community life on these lonely outposts.

Two thousand miles below the Galápagos and 365 miles out in the Pacific are found the islands of Juan Fernández. They belong to Chile. These are also dismal, inhospitable spots. One of them is supposed to be the island upon which Defoe represented Robinson Crusoe as taking refuge. To the west lies Australia in a direct line, 7,000 miles away. However, it is possible that the development of the bombing plane may, as in the case of the Galápagos, raise these bare islands to a center of importance.

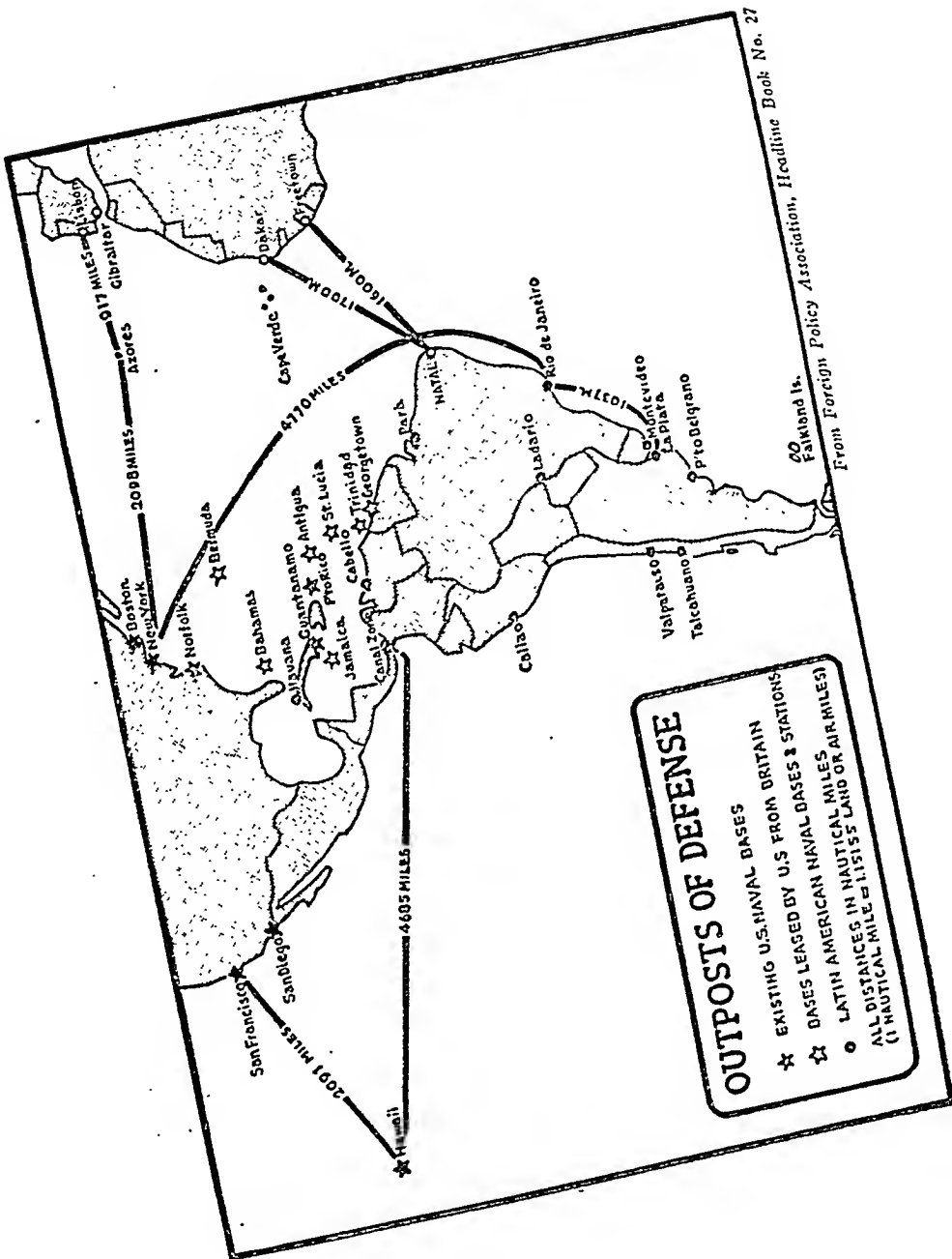
Farther south, the Strait of Magellan offers a rough, picturesque passage for ships between the Pacific and the Atlantic. The building of the Panama Canal and the establishment of air traffic from Santiago to Buenos Aires have lessened the use of this strait. But if the Panama Canal were closed, it would again assume enormous importance. Chile and Argentina are considering the joint fortification of this strait.

In the South Atlantic, off the coast of Argentina, are found the famous Falkland Islands. These occupy an important strategic position. A sig-

nificant naval battle was fought off those shores between Germany and Great Britain in the first World War. From this base during the second World War, the British sent their cruisers to overwhelm the German pocket battleship, the *Graf Spee*, at Christmas time in 1939.

The next outstanding strategic position is Cabo Este, on the southeastern corner of Uruguay, where the great estuary, Rio de la Plata, sweeps out to sea. Control of that cape by a foreign power would allow it to dictate the life of Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil. In 1939 a Nazi fifth-column plot was uncovered, which showed that the storm troopers were plotting just such control. Near that cape, the *Graf Spee* received its mortal wounds. The United States aided Uruguay, in 1942, to fortify Cabo Este. Argentine, British, and United States battle cruisers maintain patrol duty around this important point.

Cape São Roque, with its municipality, Natal, Brazil, is the next outstanding strategic point. It has received much attention in the news because, at the beginning of the second World War, the public suddenly realized that it lay within approximately 1,700 miles of Dakar, Africa. This sudden discovery by North Americans led to many false statements and erroneous theories. "Latin America is closer to Europe than to the United States," was one completely false statement often made. (Natal is but one small point in Latin America. Dakar is not even in Europe; instead it is many miles distant from Berlin, Paris, or London.) A small group of self-appointed strategists in the United States suggested that we should draw a line



through South America, more or less along the Amazon River, and undertake to defend only the section north of that line. Such suicidal appeasement has never been seriously considered by Washington, which, from the days of Monroe, has believed that America as a whole must be kept free from European dominance. With the aid of the United States Brazil is building air fields and fortifications all through the Natal section and on the island of San Fernando, 300 miles out to sea on the way to Dakar.

We have now completed the sweep around the continent. We have located the important southern geographical points vital to the defense of the American continent.

GEOGRAPHY AND FOREIGN POLICY

If geography explains to a great degree the foreign policy of a continent, it also throws much light on the foreign policy of individual countries. How is it that Argentina is so friendly to Europe, and Peru is so friendly to the United States? Argentina faces toward Europe. Its great plains produce enormous amounts of wheat and meat, which are needed by Europe. Vast steamship lines are developed, great business enterprises grow, aided by European capital. Immigration from Europe flows into these great plains. European capital develops Argentine railroads. So geography influences production, and, as a result, foreign trade and cultural relations as well.

Things are different in Peru, situated as it is on the west coast of South America. It is a mountainous land. One of its exports is copper, shipped out from a Yankee-owned mine. It

is near to the Panama Canal and the United States. Peruvian foreign policy is therefore likely to favor closer relations with the United States.

Chile is a long shoestring republic, with 2,600 miles of coast line. Open to attack from every side, she must therefore watch her step. Chile is neither a confirmed friend of Europe nor of the United States. Her foreign policy consists in keeping to the middle of the road.

Mexico is different. She is the next-door neighbor of the United States, a country of overpowering strength. This fact means that most of Mexico's foreign policy revolves around the question of protecting herself from, or co-operating with, her great North-American neighbor.

Brazil has still a different position. This illustrates the fact that foreign policy is not a simple matter. She is nearer to Europe than is Argentina. Yet she has always maintained a consistent friendship toward the United States. Why is this so? One reason is that Brazil is the greatest producer of coffee in the world. The United States drinks more coffee than any other country. Also, this great country borders on seven different South American nations. It is to Brazil's interest, as a result, to promote friendship between South American countries.

The development of the west coast of South America has been retarded because the high Andes make transportation, education, and other unifying processes difficult. On the other hand, the great plains of Argentina, Uruguay, and southern Brazil make for progress. People situated like the Chileans always develop a venture-

some spirit and a hospitable attitude toward foreigners. For these Chile is famous. Mexico, Cuba, and other parts of the Caribbean are influenced by the overflowing life of the United States. People in the tropics lack the drive and progress of those who live in temperate climates. Every section of Latin America demonstrates, by the peculiar character of its people, geography's powerful influence.

A COMPARISON OF THE AMERICAS

The Western Hemisphere can be thought of as having three distinct divisions: North America, including the United States and Canada; Middle America,¹ and South America. Middle and South America, with their twenty republics, make up what we call Latin America, an area containing over eight and a half million square miles of territory—slightly less than that which composes North America. Although this area represents almost 20 per cent of the inhabited land of the world, the total population of Latin America is about 130,000,000. This small population is due in part to the inhospitable character of much Latin-American land, with its tropical jungles and deserts, and also to the fact that for many years Latin America has been so remote from the North Atlantic countries which have been the pivot of world activity.

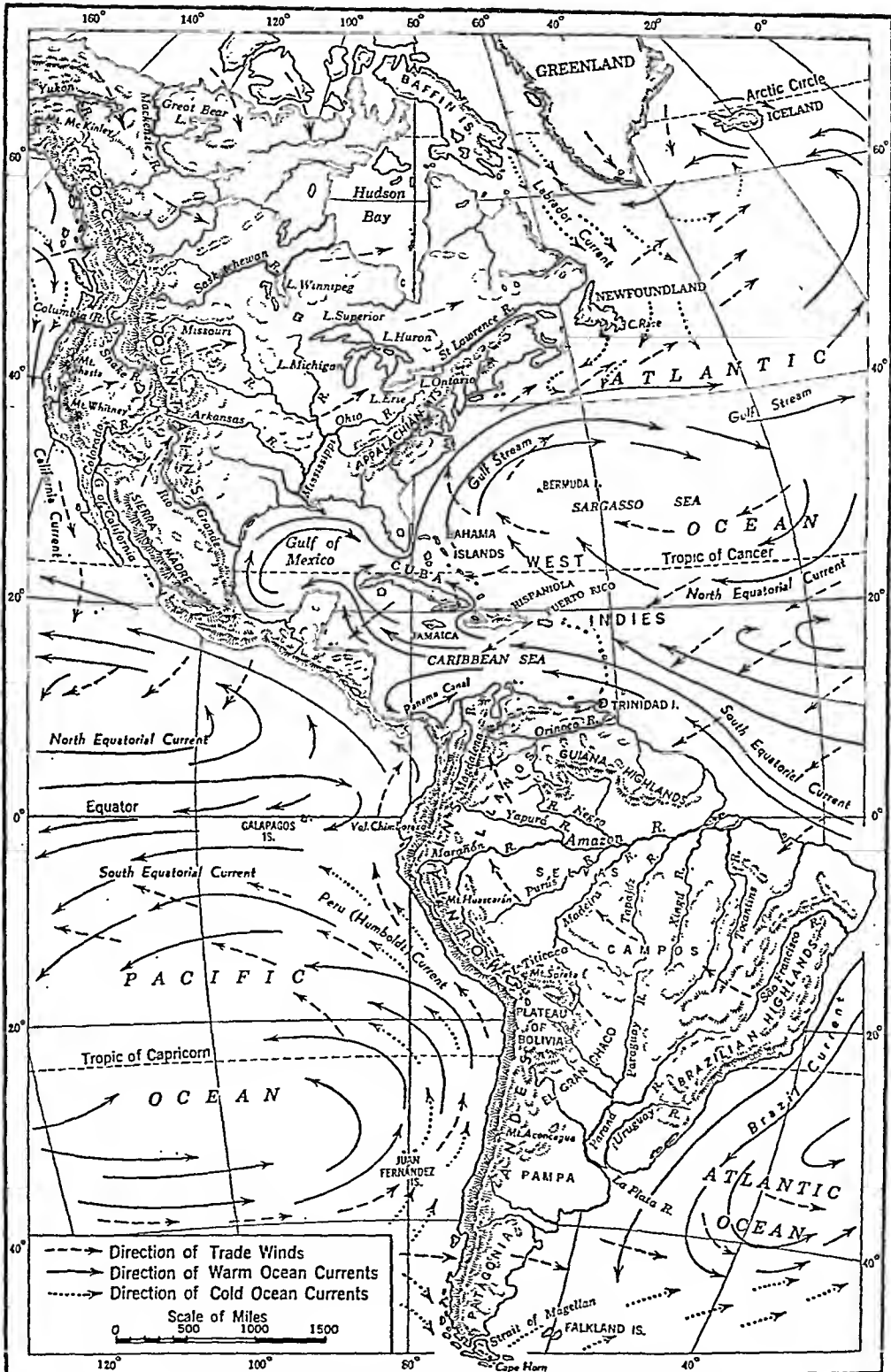
A glance at the map will show that South America is a huge triangle, 4,600 miles from north to south and 3,200 miles from east to west at its widest point. This great triangle is connected to western North America

by Middle America; to the east, the Caribbean islands are stepping stones to the North American coast.

Topography. In their general topography, as well as in their area, North America and South America are much alike. Both areas have formidable mountain barriers formed by the Cordilleran mountain system, which includes the mountains of Middle America, the Andes Mountains of South America, and the Rocky Mountains of the United States and Canada. These are young, rugged ranges, contrasting strongly with the older, worn ranges in the eastern sections of both continents. Both North and South America have huge river systems, such as the Mississippi and the Amazon systems, which drain vast interior plains.

However, these are superficial likenesses. A closer examination shows great differences. The Andes extend north and south for over 4,500 miles, cutting off the east of Latin America from the west. They are narrower, but higher, than the Rockies. Rising steeply from the Pacific, they have towering peaks over 20,000 feet high. Unlike the Rockies, they have very few passes less than 10,000 feet above sea level. Except in Bolivia they are less than 200 miles wide. Because of their great height and the scarcity of mountain passes, the Andes form the most formidable mountain barrier in the world. Only a few railroads have been built across the Andean range. Consequently, much transportation between the eastern and the western parts of South America is by sea, although the airplane is coming

¹ Middle America is a popular name which includes the Central American republics, the three republics of the West Indies, and Mexico.



Physical Features of North and South America

to occupy an increasing place in this transmountain communication.

Unlike the North American coast line, the coast line of Latin America is regular, so that the natural harbors for ocean-going steamers are few. Further, those harbors which do exist are largely on the east coast. The reason for the striking lack of harbors on the north Pacific coast is that for thousands of years the whole continent of South America has been tilting gradually upward in the north and downward in the south. This process has resulted in a steady rise of the northwestern coastal mountains, so that now they jut steeply from the sea, leaving a coast line from the Isthmus of Panama to Chile almost void of harbors. This lack of ports has made it necessary for sea-going boats to anchor off shore in open water and transfer cargoes and passengers ashore by lighters. On the Atlantic shores there are good harbors which have been formed by the Orinoco, the Amazon, and La Plata rivers at the points where they empty into the sea. Good harbors are found also along the Caribbean coast.

Temperature. The greatest difference between North and Latin America is in their positions with regard to the equator. While three fourths of North America lies in the temperate climate, about three fourths of Latin America is in the tropics; so the two continents show great differences in vegetation, animal life, and population. A warm or hot climate is not so conducive to human activity as a more moderate climate, and life in Latin America tends to be at a slower tempo than in North America. Temperatures there do not vary so greatly

from season to season as they do in North America.

In the lowlands along the Caribbean coast and in the equatorial forests of South America, there is continual heat and unceasing rain. But there is almost no rain in the hot, arid deserts which cover the northern part of Mexico, the western plains of Argentina, the coast of Peru, and the northern tip of Chile. On the other hand, the Valley of Mexico, the Central Valley of Chile, Brazil's highlands, and Argentina's pampas all have mild, pleasant climates. That the mountains and highlands have a great effect on temperature is shown by the fact that in the tropics there is a one degree drop in temperature for every additional 300 feet of elevation. Thus it is frequently too cold for comfort in the mountain city of Quito, Ecuador, although that city is located only a few miles from the equator.

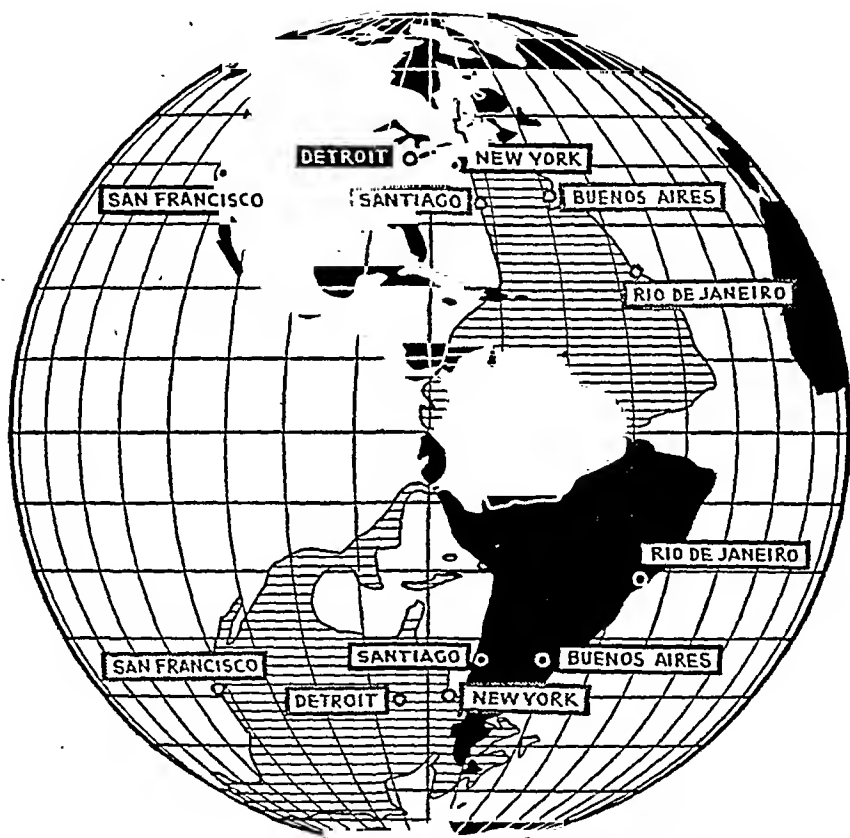
Rainfall. Mountains and highlands also influence rainfall. The rain which falls on the Caribbean lowlands and the tropical part of South America east of the Andes is borne on the trade winds blowing in from the Caribbean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. These winds, moving in from the northeast and southeast, drop their moisture as they sweep up the slopes of the highlands to the Andes. Very little moisture crosses the mountains to the tropical portion of the west coast, which rarely has rain.

The entire trade-wind belt shifts north or south, according to the season. During the South American summer months, December to March, the area with the greatest rainfall is that between southern Brazil and the Guiana Highlands. In the winter,

however, the rainy belt shifts northward, covering the region north of the Amazon River and continuing over the Caribbean Sea. Over lower South America, below latitude 30°, the direction of the trade winds is reversed, and

rainfall are affected, too, by the Peru Current. Nowhere in the world are the effects of a cold water current so noticeable as here. This current, formerly called the Humboldt Current, but now generally referred to as the

LINING UP OUR LATITUDES



From Foreign Policy Association, Headline Book No. 27

they blow from west to east, bearing moisture from the Pacific Ocean. Central and southern Chile, therefore, have abundant rainfall, as the high Andes force the winds to deposit their moisture on the coastal plain and in the valley along the west coast.

Latin-American temperature and

Peru Current, has a far-reaching effect on the climate along the coast of Peru and northern Chile. On-shore winds blowing over this cold water current cause the air temperatures all the way from northern Chile almost to the equator to be much lower than the averages for each latitude.

FOUR DOMINANT UNITS

The political, economic, and social life of Latin America is influenced by four dominant geographical units: the Caribbean Sea, the Andes Mountains, the pampa of eastern South America, and the Amazon Valley.

The Strategic Importance of the Caribbean Sea. The Caribbean Sea is to the American Continent what the Mediterranean is to Europe. Just as the nation which dominates the Mediterranean controls Europe, so the nation that dominates the Caribbean can control America. Likewise, the Panama Canal at one end of the Caribbean is comparable in importance to the Suez Canal at one end of the Mediterranean. At the close of the fifteenth century the Spaniards deposited the first load of European civilization on the Caribbean island of Hispaniola. A few decades later England, France, and Holland invaded the West Indies in order to secure their part of the New World riches. For 200 years European wars were prolonged in the Caribbean. The United States, after independence was established, objected to Europe's continuing the Caribbean as a battleground. Thomas Jefferson early emphasized the fact that the Caribbean should be dominated by the United States. In recent decades this country has demanded, as an integral part of its foreign policy, the control of the West Indies. We aided Cuba to drive the Spanish from their last stronghold in America. We aided Panama to free itself from Colombia in order that the canal might be built. About the same time great American commercial corporations developed enormous plan-

tations in the Caribbean area for the production of bananas, sugar, coffee, and cacao. The Caribbean then became what some critics called "an American lake." The opening of the Panama Canal in 1914 changed the map of the world. For 400 years great rulers had dreamed of this canal. When it was finally built, it restored the Caribbean to a position of world importance and advanced the development of the west coast of Central and South America.

The waters of this "American Mediterranean" are warmed by the north equatorial current of the Atlantic. Trade winds blow from the east, bringing heavy rainfall. But sunshine, too, is abundant, making the lands warm and humid. Thus is provided the climate which means thickly populated islands, rich in such profitable crops as bananas and sugar. Puerto Rico, belonging to the United States, has almost 600 people to the square mile. Barbados, which belongs to the British, has one of the densest populations of the world—1,200 persons to the square mile.

The Caribbean is a great oval-shaped sea, bounded, roughly speaking, on the north by three islands, Cuba, Hispaniola, and Puerto Rico; on the east by a chain of small islands, the Lesser Antilles, beginning with the Virgin Islands, sixty miles from Puerto Rico, and ending with Trinidad, which hugs the coast of Venezuela. The southern boundary of this oval is made by the strong, well-anchored, northern section of the South American mainland, the Republic of Venezuela, and that section of Colombia which extends as far as the little neck of land called Panama.

about which has centered more controversy than any other spot in the New World. The western boundary of the Caribbean is made up of Panama, four of the republics of Central America, British Honduras, and the jutting peninsula of Yucatán which swings up at the northwest.

The area of the Caribbean lands, strictly speaking and not including Mexico or the Guianas, is 1,126,700 square miles. In this is included the land actually washed by this sea, that is, the five republics of Central America, two of South America, the three West Indian republics, the possessions of the United States (Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands), the possessions of Great Britain, the largest of which are British Honduras, Jamaica, and Trinidad, the French islands in the Lesser Antilles, and the Dutch islands off Venezuela, the largest of which is Curaçao. These countries and colonies have a population of approximately 27,000,000 people, about one in every thousand being a citizen of the United States.

The Caribbean is the source of many blood-and-thunder stories based on the era of the buccaneers and pirates. Some are based on fact; others on mere tradition; while others are purely imaginary. The events of Robert Louis Stevenson's exciting novel *Treasure Island* take place on an imaginary island situated in the West Indies area. Charles Kingsley, in *Westward Ho*, paints for us the horrors of the Inquisition in Cartagena, where the reader is overwhelmed with the shrieks of Rose Salterne piercing the dark corridors of the Inquisition court. Rafael Sabatini in *Captain Blood*, that most exciting of all buc-

caner yarns, paints a wonderfully clear picture of a naval attack on Cartagena. It was in these waters that Joseph Conrad served his apprenticeship as a sailor and secured material for his romantic novels.

The Andes Mountains. The Andes Mountains are more than 4,500 miles long, extending from the northern part of South America, in Colombia, to the extreme tip at Tierra del Fuego. In places this mountain chain is more than 100 miles in width. It follows closely the western coast line and traverses Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, and Argentina. The Andes consist of two approximately parallel chains with a depression between. The average height is 15,000 feet above sea level, as compared with the highest single peak in the United States, Mt. Whitney in California, which is only 14,501 feet. One peak, Aconcagua, in Argentina, is 22,835 feet, one of the highest in the world. Several are more than 20,000 feet, and scores are between 18,000 and 20,000 feet. The Andes chain is the longest in the world and second only to the Himalayas in height.

Between the Andes chains is a high, broad plateau called the *altiplano*. Between the Pacific Ocean and the Andes lies a narrow coastal plain. It varies from low, tropical land and desert regions, where there is almost no rainfall, to the great central valley of Chile, where is found the majority of the population.

The population of the Andean region is distributed where people can make a living. The jungle lowlands are sparsely inhabited, not so much because they are hot, as because of weeds and pests. The desert regions

which can be irrigated or which have large nitrate or mineral deposits are fairly densely populated. The bulk of the population of South America's west coast, however, lives high on the mountain slopes. There is the region where two and even three crops a year can be grown profitably and where there are the greatest mineral riches.

On the high, broad plateaus stand some of South America's principal cities. Bogotá, capital of Colombia, a city of a third of a million people, is on a plateau 8,660 feet above sea level. Quito, capital of Ecuador, is in a picturesque valley, 9,350 feet above sea level. Cuzco, in Peru, once the capital of the Inca Empire, is 11,440 feet above sea level. Cerro de Pasco, a mining town in the Peruvian Andes, is 14,208 feet above sea level. La Paz, Bolivia, high in the Andes (12,000 feet), is the highest capital in the world. There are many Bolivian towns that are 10,000 to 15,000 feet above sea level.

The considerable number of people who are able to make a living in the Andes region indicates that, although the rugged topography presents formidable barriers to the development of trade and industry, in many areas man has succeeded in overcoming these obstacles.

Chile differs sharply from the other Andean countries. It is divided into three distinctive sections. In the North are the dry nitrate and copper mines. Its life revolves around the big mines owned by foreigners, with even the food and water imported from the outside. Workmen face an industrial situation, completely different from the highland industries. The central section is rich and populous.

Here the business of the nation is carried on, and food is raised. Southern Chile starts with the lake region, comparable in beauty and climate to Switzerland. Here the German colonies dominate, keep the inns, and control business. Farther south, running on down to the most Southern town in the world, Punta Arenas, are the great sheep ranches.

Influence of the Peru Current. The west coast of South America has a distinct life, different from that of any other section of the world. The inhabitants of the region attribute all manner of happenings to the action of the Peru Current—the weather, prosperity, poverty, the enormous flocks of birds, the overwhelming number of fish—even the late arrival of trains. This seems strange to the visitor until he begins to study this enormous ocean river. It sweeps up from the Antarctic, hugging tightly the coast of Chile and Peru. It then turns westward toward the Galápagos Islands. Near these islands it loses itself in the expanses of the Pacific. The cold current running along the shores of northern Chile and Peru parallels the high Andes Mountains. These mountains hug the coast. The cold current cools the air. This cold air is made still colder when it strikes the sides of the Andes, so there is no precipitation from the bend of the South American continent at Arica to another bend at 11° below the equator, just south of the Guayas River. Because of the lack of rainfall in northern Chile, that section is blessed with her enormous nitrate deposits. If it ever rained there, the greatest riches of Chile would be destroyed.

A slightly different combination of

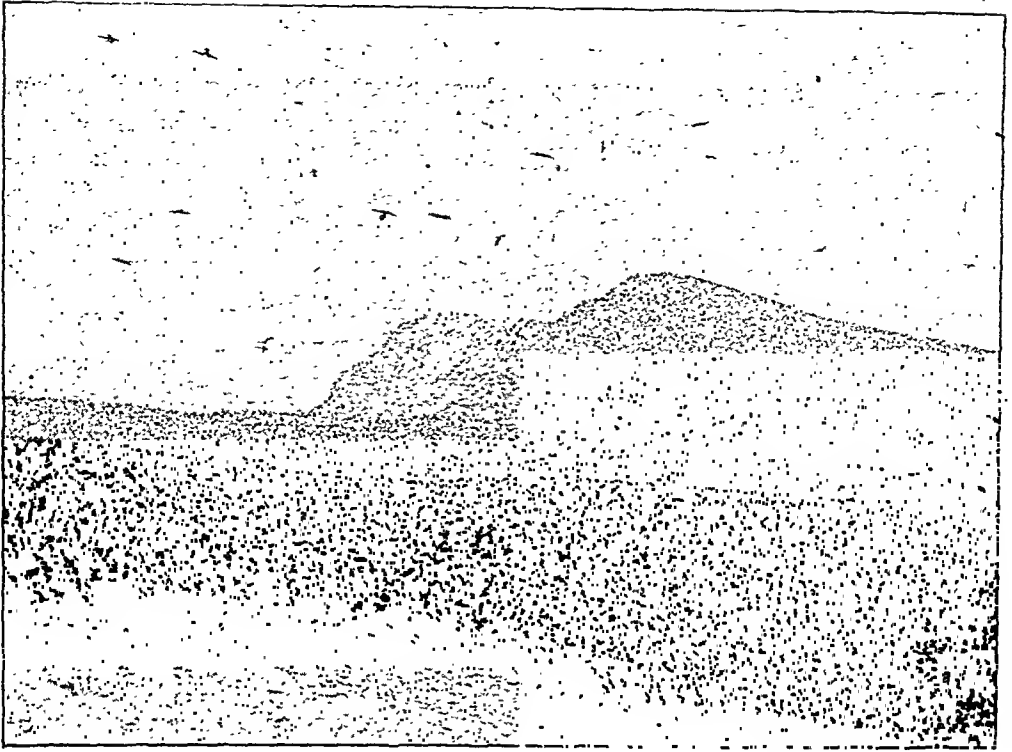


Photo by James Sawders

The bird islands of Peru are a valuable source of fertilizer. The fish, fed by the abundant marine life of the Peru Current, in turn feed millions of sea birds, which produce guano. Guano is one of Peru's notable resources.

geographical circumstances gives Peru its large deposits of guano, valuable as a fertilizer, on the islands off the coast. There is exceptionally abundant marine life in the Peru Current, due to the chemical composition of the water and the protection of the clouds. The enormous amount of fish in that current draws millions of birds. There are so many birds in this region that at times great flocks of them, like a cloud, hide the sun. It has been estimated that one of the small Chincha Islands off Peru has a bird population of 5,600,000, requiring 1,000 tons of fish a day for food. The droppings of these birds constitute the enormous guano deposits. The guano, in turn, is preserved be-

cause of the absence of rain. Guano is rich in phosphates, nitrogen, and other material for plant growth. It is sold by the Peruvians for use as a fertilizer. If the current chances to turn away from the land, as it does once in a great span of years, the birds have no fish for food. They die by the millions, and the Peruvian people, themselves, starve without the means of livelihood. When the current turns, or warm water from the north overspreads the cold, the hot air rises. Torrents of rain ensue. This means trains are delayed because bridges and tracks are washed out for long distances. In other words, Peruvian life is sometimes radically changed by a trick of the Peru Current. Traveling

from Panama down the west coast, one expects to find the hottest kind of weather as he approaches the equator. Soon, however, he begins to look for his warm clothes. Why? The current is now getting in its work and cooling the atmosphere. Geography has scored again as an explanation of the life of a people.

Eastern Plains. The great rolling plains of Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and southern Brazil mean prosperity. They also mean an advanced social and intellectual life. Railroads, telephone lines, and newspapers are easily developed. There are no great mountain barriers to cut off communications. Schools are accessible. People can be mutually helpful in the tasks of building and in other projects of civilization. Access to Europe is easy, so all the natural processes of civilization found in the United States and Central Europe prevail there.

The Pampa. The region which has made Argentina what it is today is the *pampa*. The pampa (or pampas) consists of flat prairie lands similar to the plains of the United States. It is located in eastern South America. The present population of this great region is nearly 9,000,000. It is mainly occupied in raising cattle, wheat, and corn. Here are the famous *estancias*, large cattle farms, known the world around for the attractive life they provide, and for the great wheat farms that send their products to all parts of the world. South of the pampa lies the great plateau of Patagonia. This bleak region of some 300,000 square miles is largely devoted to sheep raising.

El Gran Chaco. North of the pampa is a lowland plain of 400,000 square

miles known as *El Gran Chaco*. It is a strange, varied land, now dry, now swampy. The most valuable tree of the Chaco forest is the quebracho, which is used in the tanning of leather. Between the rivers are grasslands. Petroleum is sometimes found.

The central plateau of Brazil merges further north into the Brazilian Highlands, which averages about 3,000 feet elevation with mountains that rise to 7,000 and 9,000 feet. Much of this territory is subject to droughts. Jumping over the great tropical lowlands of the Amazon and the Orinoco rivers, one encounters another rich level section, the productive plains, or *llanos*, of Venezuela. Citizens of the United States know the importance of plains in the economic and cultural life of a people.

The Amazon Valley. The largest undeveloped section of land in the world is the Amazon Valley. It is a region four fifths as large as the United States. Only a few hundred square miles of it are under cultivation. The Amazon River drains an area of about 2,500,000 square miles—one third of all South America. It is nearly 4,000 miles long from its source to its mouth. Marajó, an island near the river's mouth, is as large as the Republic of Switzerland. The dark waters of the Amazon can be seen nearly a hundred miles out in the Atlantic. It is navigable to ocean-going vessels as far as Iquitos, Peru—nearly 2,500 miles. It is fed by a number of rivers which themselves are comparable in size to famous rivers of other sections of the world.

Francisco de Orellana made the first descent of the Amazon in 1541. The four hundredth anniversary of this

event has drawn fresh attention to this great river. When Orellana started from Peru, he expected to return after a few days of travel down stream, but this soon became impossible. He found himself fighting with the Indians. Among them were some women warriors of large stature. He had previously heard tales of the mighty Amazons and the tribe of women warriors. He thought he had found them, and named the river after them. Fray Gaspar de Carvajal's account of this voyage is one of America's greatest adventure stories. Ever since then the river has been shrouded in romance and mystery.

It is said that during this trip of Orellana's, he saw the Indians playing a game with a ball that bounced. However, it was not until two hundred years later that a French scientist explored the possibilities of rubber. He experimented with its elasticity and found that a rubber raincoat was a handy thing to have. But the rubber would soon dry out, becoming brittle and useless. It remained for Charles Goodyear from the United States, in 1839, to make rubber of general use to mankind. He discovered the process of vulcanizing, a method by which rubber can be treated to improve its strength, hardness, and elasticity. Immediately overshoes, raincoats, and a thousand other useful articles were manufactured from rubber. The great boom on the Amazon attracted men from Europe and the United States. As a result the city of Manáos, 1,000 miles up the Amazon, built the finest opera house in the world. Such luxuries as pianos, caviar, and champagne became common possessions.

Brazil guarded her rubber plants as

carefully as though they were diamonds. However, in 1876 an Englishman named Henry Wickham, watching his chance, gathered some seeds. Finding an empty ship tied at the docks at Manáos, he paid the captain's price and engaged a gang of natives to smuggle the cargo aboard. For some reason the inspectors failed to examine the cargo, and it reached London safely. The seeds were planted in Kew Gardens, and in a few years the carefully nurtured plants were transferred to the Botanical Gardens in Colombo, Ceylon. The cultivated plants proved to be far superior to Brazil's wild rubber. The boom was ended abruptly. The opera house, along with many other enterprises in Manáos, was closed. By 1910 Brazil had lost her most valuable crop.

The enormous use of rubber tires recently persuaded Henry Ford to try a revival of the rubber business in the Amazon. He secured 2,500,000 acres of land from the Brazilian government on the Amazon tributary, the Tapajós River. He equipped a hospital ship in Detroit and sent it down the Atlantic and up the Amazon to the new settlement of Fordlandia. Engineers and agriculturists developed the project along modern lines. By 1944 a crop of 400,000 pounds of rubber is expected. This is far from the 6,000,000 pounds needed annually by the United States. The Washington government has recently agreed with Brazil to send specialists to aid in producing cultivated rubber and recovering this business for Brazil.

In the past the tropics have been considered difficult places for the white man's residence. Recent developments of science, however, in-



Photo from Keystone View Co.

Rubber trees grow wild in the Amazon Valley. The tapping of these trees is for the purpose of obtaining the milky juice, called latex, from which rubber is made. A tree must be seven years old to be tapped.

dicates that this whole situation is changing. The automobile and the farm tractor are supplying labor deficiencies. The airplane and the radio bring rapid connections with the outside world. Engineers have recently announced the building of an amphibian carrier boat for commercial purposes, similar to that used by armies. This type of boat can operate in shallow water. It is even able to pass through rapids. President

Vargas of Brazil visited the Amazon district in 1940, and announced a coming conference when all the Amazon countries would be asked to send their experts to work out a plan for the development of this great region. The United States government has assigned experts to the study of this same section. It may be that some day refugees from European and Asiatic countries can here find their future home.

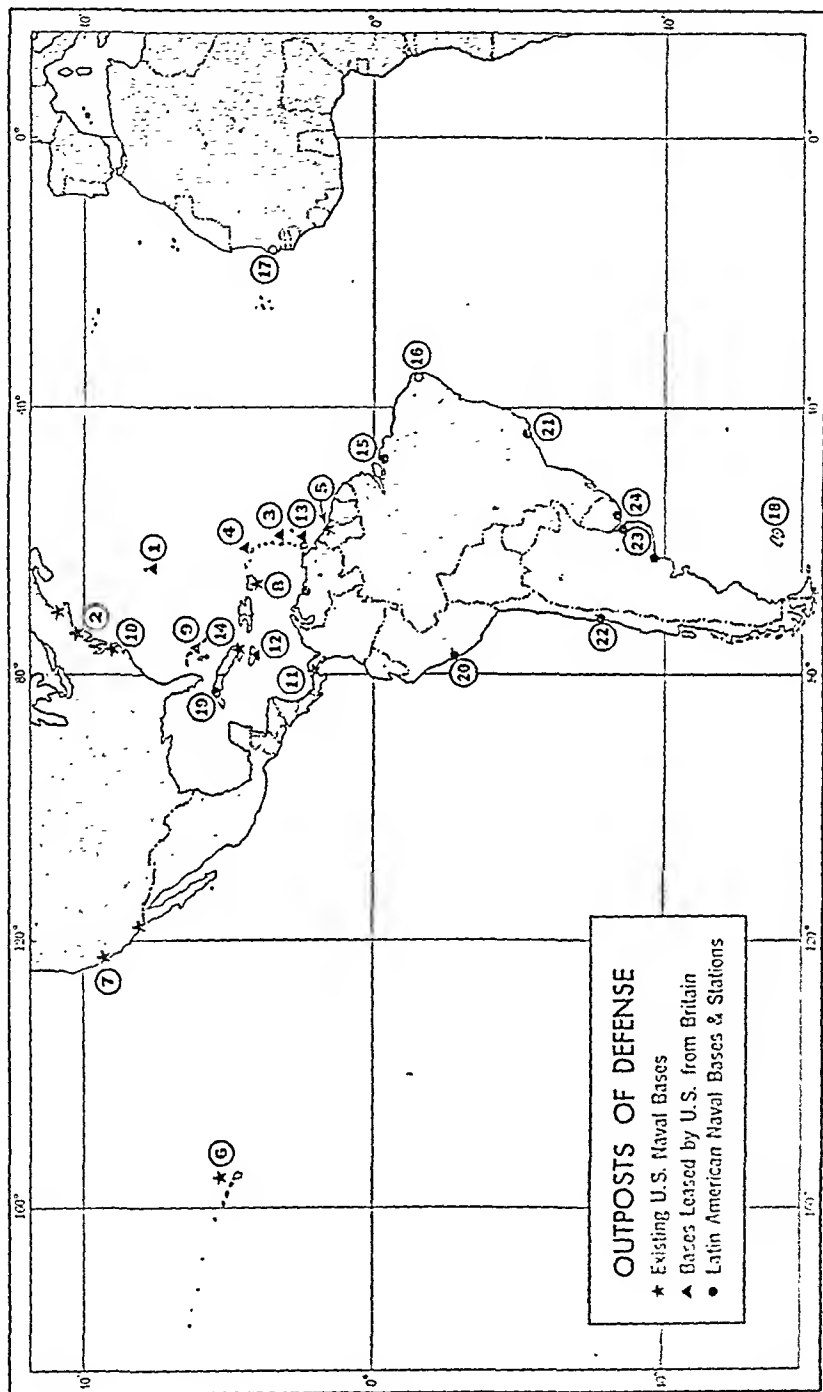
TEST YOURSELF!

A. A Defense Map. The map on the opposite page shows (by the use of numbers) the location of some of the cities and bases which are important in the defense system of the Western Hemisphere. After studying the map on page 47, identify them by writing the correct number in front of each item of the following list. The bases are numbered from 1 to 14, the cities from 15 to 24.

<i>Bases</i>	<i>Cities</i>
() <i>a.</i> Hawaii	() <i>o.</i> Dakar
() <i>b.</i> Canal Zone	() <i>p.</i> Valparaíso
() <i>c.</i> San Francisco	() <i>q.</i> Callao
() <i>d.</i> New York	() <i>r.</i> Natal
() <i>e.</i> Bahamas	() <i>s.</i> Rio de Janeiro
() <i>f.</i> Trinidad	() <i>t.</i> Montevideo
() <i>g.</i> Bermuda	() <i>u.</i> Falkland Islands
() <i>h.</i> Georgetown	() <i>v.</i> Pará
() <i>i.</i> Norfolk	() <i>w.</i> La Plata
() <i>j.</i> Guantánamo	() <i>x.</i> Habana
() <i>k.</i> Santa Lucia	
() <i>l.</i> Jamaica	
() <i>m.</i> Puerto Rico	
() <i>n.</i> Antigua	

B. Correspondence or Class Assignments. (See general instructions under this heading, p. viii.)

1. This chapter says: "The nation which dominates the Caribbean can control America." Explain at least three steps taken by the United States to obtain dominance in the Caribbean area.



2. Natural rubber is one of the critical materials of the present war. Tell the part played in its history by the following men: Orellana, Goodyear, Wickham, and Ford.

3. Why is the Peru Current so important to the comfort of the coastal population of Peru and Chile? How does it contribute to their wealth?

C. Suggestions for Extra Reading

Goetz and Fry, *The Good Neighbors*. Ch. 2.

Gunther, John, *Inside Latin America*. Ch. 10 (Panama).

Raushenbush, Joan, *Look at Latin America*. Ch. 2.

IV. TRANSPORTATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

One of the first things noticed by a visitor to a new country is the way the people get from one place to another. By observing the system of transportation within a country itself and facilities provided for travel to and from foreign lands, one can get certain indications concerning the social status of the inhabitants. The ease or the difficulty with which people can communicate with each other and with the outside world leads directly into the study of their economic conditions, their social progress, and the status of their educational organization.

TRANSPORTATION

Economic development has always been dependent upon transportation. The briefest glance at the physical features of Latin America suggests the fundamental problems involved in communications. The Andes form the longest and one of the highest mountain ranges in the world. They divide each country into high peaks and low valleys. The Central Railway of Venezuela from Caracas passes through eighty-seven tunnels in dropping down to the Valencia plain; the line from Guayaquil, Ecuador, reaches Quito only after scaling the divide at 11,481 feet; the Central Railway of Peru reaches a height of 15,680 feet within

one hundred and six miles of the sea after passing through sixty-five tunnels. Naturally, expansion of railway transportation has been most rapid in the level plains of Argentina, and it has made least progress in the west and north where mountains often run up the cost of construction to more than \$100,000 a mile.

Despite mountain barriers two transcontinental lines exist. The first railroad connecting the two oceans in South America was the Trans-Andean from Valparaiso, Chile, to Buenos Aires, Argentina, a distance of 886 miles. Recently a severe landslide washed out a section of the railroad, but traffic continues to move over this portion by means of buses and trucks. The other transcontinental line is from Buenos Aires through northern Argentina into Bolivia. From there three routes are available to reach the Pacific coast: one by way of Antofagasta, Chile; another by way of Arica, Chile; and a third by way of Mollendo, Peru, across Lake Titicaca, the highest lake in the world with steam navigation.

River Transportation. Here, at least, nature has contributed to the aid of transportation as far as South America is concerned. In the ten northern Latin-American countries, rivers are often too swollen in the

rainy season to assist greatly in carrying passengers or goods.

There are four great river systems in South America on which vessels ranging in size from the small canoe of the Indian to the great ocean liners carry manufactured goods to the interior and bring out rubber, cacao, and other tropical products. These are the systems of La Plata, the Amazon, the Orinoco, and the Magdalena. So extensive are these systems that with a comparatively few miles of overland travel one could go by boat, except for the rapids, from Buenos Aires to the mouth of the Orinoco, in Venezuela. The Amazon, of course, leads in the extent of navigable waterways, and ocean liners go regularly as far as Manáos and even to Iquitos, almost at the boundary of Ecuador, 2,500 miles from the Atlantic.

Ocean Transportation. The fact that a large part of the foreign trade of South America has been with Europe has caused a great development of ocean transportation service between the two continents. Until a few years before the first World War the only regular communication of any importance between South America and the outside world was by means of the ships that ran to European ports. It was customary for passengers bound for South America from the United States to go by way of Liverpool or Hamburg, and a great deal of freight was also routed by way of these ports. While this has now changed and the United States enjoys reasonably good service with South America, it is nevertheless true that in normal times transportation facilities are much better to and from Europe than to and from the United States.

Highways. It was not until the fifth Pan-American Conference held at Santiago, Chile, in 1923, that the republics became sufficiently "highway conscious" to devote special attention at one of the official international assemblies to highway construction and motor transportation. At this conference provision was made for the discussion of Pan-American Highway construction and motor traffic problems and methods which might be adopted for their solution. Progress, particularly in recent years, has been rapid and well-nigh phenomenal. For example, Argentine highways open to traffic were reported at 137,000 miles in 1932. Six years later the total was 255,000 miles, a gain of 86 per cent.

The most interesting feature of road construction in the Americas is the project of a Pan-American Highway to extend from the United States in the north to Argentina and Chile in the south to connect all the countries of the Americas. The greatest progress in the construction of this road has been made in the section between Panama and the United States, known as the Inter-American Highway. The longest of the completed sections is the road between Laredo, Texas, and Mexico City, which was opened to traffic in July, 1936. Since then, thousands of American tourists have motored down to visit their Southern neighbors.

In South America this great highway extends through Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador. Beginning on the Atlantic Coast at La Guaira, it goes through Caracas, Bogotá, and Quito and comes to the Pacific at Guayaquil. Hugging the coast, the



Photo from Ewing Gallery

This section of the new Pan-American Highway, winding around the mountains of the State of Hidalgo, Mexico, shows how better means of transportation will promote the economic development of Latin America. When the highway has been completed according to the present plan, it will be a system of hard roads stretching all the way from Laredo, Texas, to Buenos Aires. The Pan American Union arranged and carried through the conferences in which each country agreed to help in the building of the highway.

road, according to plan, will go on to Lima. From there the route is through Bolivia and across the Argentine border to Buenos Aires. Spurs lead north to Rio de Janeiro and west to Santiago, Chile.

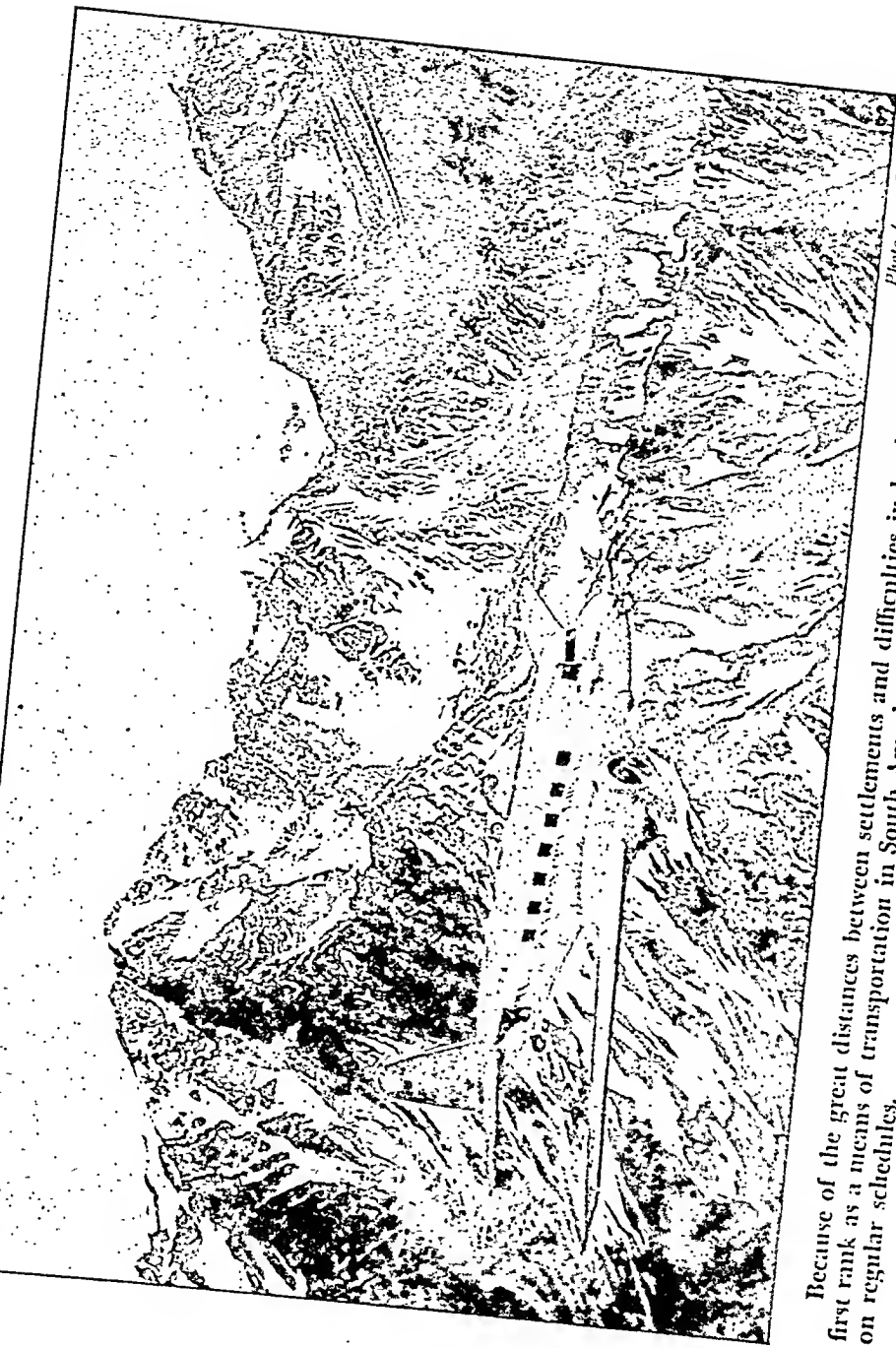
Aviation. Aviation has made extraordinary progress throughout the Americas. Probably no other region of the world is more "air-minded." This circumstance grew out of the difficulty experienced in many sections of the continent in providing other means of transportation. The airplane has made it possible to overcome these obstacles.

National airlines exist in nearly every country and, in addition, international services connect all the republics with one another and with the United States. The Pan American Airways extends from the United States to the islands of the West Indies, through Mexico and Central America, and down both the east and west coasts of South America, encircling the continent. This company entered the field in 1927 with the inauguration of the line between Havana, Cuba, and Key West, Florida. Since then it has experienced a steady growth and, in 1940, had over 41,000 miles of airlines in operation. With the inauguration of its trans-Atlantic and trans-Pacific services, Pan American Airways links the Americas with Europe and the Orient. The traveler can now go from New York to Buenos Aires in three days; by sea the trip takes almost three weeks. The airplane has also been of great value to the modern industries, and many formerly inaccessible regions are now being successfully exploited. South America is also in air communication

with Europe. Aircraft from Germany and France cross the south Atlantic from Africa to the easternmost point of Brazil, and then proceed down the coast, across the Andes, and up the west coast, thus placing these countries in close communication with the nations of Europe. Following the outbreak of war in Europe, in 1939, however, these lines were temporarily suspended, leaving a large part of its business to Pan American Airways and to the smaller national lines.

The new development of communication by means of the airplane and radio means that every previous idea of the tropics, of inaccessible interiors, of unmapped boundaries, and lack of modern enterprise must be revised. An epidemic that in the old days would have wiped out a whole section of population in an isolated mountain pocket or tropical district is today checked in its incipience by these new uses of science. The radio tells the story of the outbreak of the epidemic. Before nightfall the airplane delivers the necessary serum or vaccine to the sufferers in the isolated village. Again the sugar crop of a West Indian island may be attacked by cane borers. Down in the Amazon jungle a group of scientists get the word. The "Amazon fly," recently discovered as the cane borer's mortal enemy, is hurried off by plane. He arrives fresh and hungry. The cane is saved!

Other miracles like the following are taking place. A strike on Puerto Rican docks cuts the island off from shipping. By airplane arrives a half ton of yeast and other medical necessities sufficient to supply every clinic in the island. A petroleum pump breaks down in the mountains of Colombia.



Because of the great distances between settlements and difficulties in land travel, aviation has risen to first rank as a means of transportation in South America. Freight as well as passengers and mail is carried on regular schedules.

Photo from Black Star

Much loss of work and of profits follow. But a radiogram to the factory in Racine, Wisconsin, starts off by plane a four-hundred-pound, seven-foot crankshaft. It is delivered in three days, instead of in a month by ordinary transportation. Boundary questions have caused many a war in Latin America. Often the principal reason was that the mountains and tropical jungles prevented any mapping of these districts. Today the airplane and the high-powered camera are providing government offices for the first time with correct maps of even the most isolated and unapproachable sections of these countries. The League of Nations is suddenly confronted with the difficult problem of caring for refugees from Germany. By airplane its representative visits eleven Latin-American countries in forty-four days and confers in each capital with leading government and educational authorities. As a result, a hundred of the world's leading scientists, industrialists, and teachers are brought safely from Nazi Europe to free America, where they can continue to make their contribution to the world. A war breaks out in Europe. Representatives of American republics gather immediately by plane at Panama or at Rio de Janeiro to consider the fate of a continent. Thus the airplane, aided by the radio, is doing its part in transforming the continent. It will do much more after the war, with American nations like the United States, Brazil, and Mexico in possession of an immense number of aircraft and trained pilots. The problem of developing sufficient facilities in communication to carry the passengers and the freight, the mail

and the messages for the people of the twenty Southern countries, remains one of the most challenging of the future.

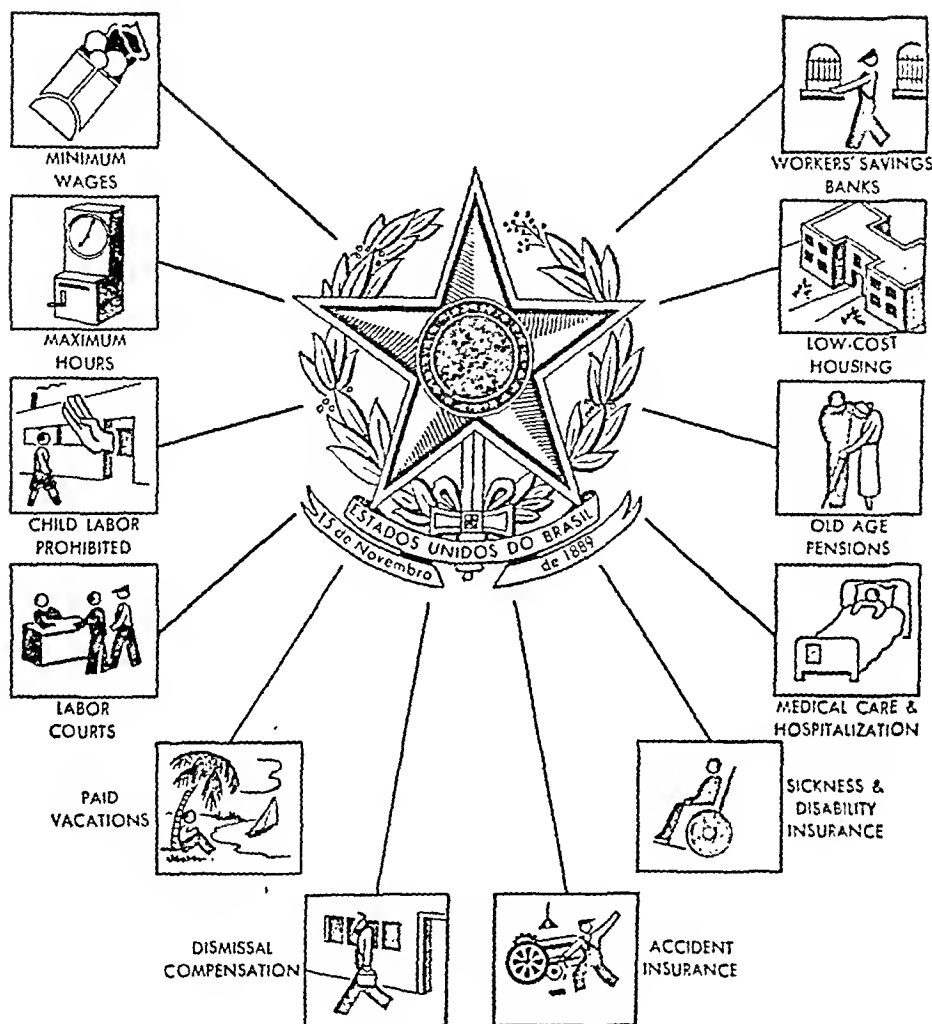
SOCIAL PROGRESS

Social as well as economic awakening dates from the first World War. At that time there began the development of several social organizations. These were the labor movement, the student movement, the women's movement, organized social work, and progressive education. In some countries governments led in the development of these movements; in others the organizations were directed by individuals.

Social legislation came late in Latin America, but during the last ten or fifteen years this subject has received considerable attention. Simultaneously with industrialism came examination of the old ideas concerning labor and social justice, and the two forces began to work for new legislation even before the war. But the greatest advance has been made since the International Labor Office at Geneva inspired a deep interest in the subject.

In Brazil and Ecuador the most recent constitutions require labor, along with other social groups, to select representatives to the national legislative bodies. The federal departments of labor now almost universally desire to deal with labor through their official organizations. Labor groups have therefore taken a definite place in the legal system of Latin America—probably before they themselves are quite ready to occupy such a place. Despite its rapid growth, the labor movement has a long way to go before it will be

SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN BRAZIL



Pictograph Corporation for the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs

in a position to accelerate the development of well-rounded social legislation. In countries where political changes come so suddenly, organized labor, although small in numbers, has a great opportunity to exercise powerful influence if it only knows its mind and is united. Only the development—without abuse of class consciousness—of a nationalistic spirit and moral

discipline can give it the strength it needs.

Recent constitutions have all provided for important social legislation. The provisions in these constitutions may be summarized as follows, although differing in details: (1) a reiteration of the right of labor to organize; (2) the freedom on the part of the worker to select the kind of

work desired and the protection of the worker; (3) the eight-hour day and weekly rest day; (4) the recognition of individual and collective contract as a medium of guaranteeing the rights of workers; (5) a minimum wage; (6) protection of women and children; (7) medical care of industrial workers; (8) accident insurance; (9) a system of social insurance. The present tendency is to empower the national congress to legislate on all labor questions in order to fix equal rights for laborers in all parts of the country.

Social Insurance. Social insurance began in Latin America some time before the Social Security Act was passed in the United States. For several decades retirement allowances have been the privilege of practically all petty officials and many private workers. Thus there have been certain compensations for low salaries.

Uruguay was the first to establish pensions. In 1919 these were provided for public-utility workers; to this group were added port workers (1922), journalists and printers (1928), and workers generally in commerce and industry (1929).

Compensation insurance in Brazil embraces six systems: public utility and railroad workers, seamen, bank employees, commercial employees, industrial workers, and stevedores. The Brazilian systems use their capital largely to build houses for their members. By the same process workers and commercial employees are providing themselves homes in a number of the Latin-American countries.

The countries of the west coast present a very different psychological and economic background from that of the east coast, and certainly very different from that of the United States.

The Indian populations have not been integrated into the governing and economic groups, but remain agricultural laborers, at times industrial slaves. Tropical disease, defective nutrition, primitive housing—all these mean low productivity on the part of the Indian worker. At the same time government income is insufficient to finance needed sanitation, education, and social service.

It was in Chile that the vicious circle of the low wages, bad health, and insufficient government aid was first studied. The Chilean social-insurance law had its inception in 1925. Large parts of the reserves of the fund collected as a result of this law have been invested in projects for social welfare, such as workers' houses, purchase of land for model farm colonies, building of apartment houses, and a plant for pasteurizing milk. Drugs and standardized clothing are manufactured at a modest price and low-cost meals are provided through its restaurants.

Health and Nutrition. Public-health work is carried on largely by governments, aided by the co-operation of the famous Rockefeller Foundation. Latin America, with so much of its territory in the tropics, faces tremendous difficulties in keeping down disease. Progress is well demonstrated by new legislation, incorporating the latest developments in science, and by the reorganization of public-health services, including the recent creation of new ministries of public health in Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Attention is now given to the problem of proper diet for the people. New developments include studies of nutrition, ex-

tension of laboratory services, erection of health centers, training of public-health personnel, improvement of vital statistics, and the initiation of campaigns against diseases such as yellow fever, leprosy, and malaria.

Sports. An important part of the improvement of health of the people of these Southern republics has been the development of sports. The visitor to Rio de Janeiro twenty-five years ago found the inhabitants afraid of the water and of the air. The crowded beaches, where the population swims and plays, is in itself enough to have changed the health of the city. From a pesthole of yellow fever, plague, malaria, and tuberculosis, avoided by the rest of the world, it has become the mecca of the tourists of the world. In 1940 São Paulo dedicated one of the most complete stadiums in America, with arenas for all kinds of games, gymnasiums, swimming pools, amateur theaters, and many other appointments. In Mexico the goal posts for basketball have come to be, in far-away mountain villages as well as in crowded cities, the symbol of the social revolution. In Cuba and other sections of the Caribbean, the baseball park is being substituted for the bull ring and the cockpit. In Buenos Aires sport clubs, with thousands of members, are social centers of a great majority of the young people. Some of the largest audiences in the world are found in the immense stadiums of Montevideo and Buenos Aires, where 125,000 people often come together to see a match of association football. Central America has developed inter-American Olympic games.

Housing. An important aspect of protective social legislation for the worker deals with housing conditions

both in the cities and in the country districts. Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile have extensive housing projects in their capital cities which visitors find of great interest.

Regular Pan-American conferences on housing are now periodically held in which housing projects for workers are carefully studied. At the beginning of the Pan-American housing movement to abolish slums and miserable hovels, unsanitary tenements, and disease-harboring shacks, only a general outline of the contemplated housing project was drawn up. Inspired by a sense of humanity and justice, the plans devised are eradicating bad and unhealthful housing—a cause for pauperism and spiritual degeneration among the poor.

Latin-American governments are beginning to realize that social peace cannot be attained except on a basis of equal justice and adequate prosperity for the laboring classes.

The Women's Movement. Women of Latin America followed the seclusive ideas of the women in Spain and North Africa for many years. In some sections today it is against the social custom for women to be seen on the streets alone, or for them to attend social events without chaperons. Participation in the discussion of public questions has also been regarded as outside of women's prerogatives. Following the first World War, however, there developed a marked women's movement in lands like Chile, Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil, and, more recently, in other countries. School-teachers, as a class, have been conspicuous in the development of women's activities in both the social and political realms, as they have been the most effective leaders in all social reforms.

Progress in Education. Following the first World War educational processes have been multiplied and modernized. Secondary education is ceasing to be regarded merely as the gateway to professional studies for a small privileged class. Such schools have come more and more under government control, and their curricula have been adjusted slowly to the elementary school and to local social conditions.

The importance of the kindergarten has been recognized. Summer camps have spread since first established by Argentina. The study of English has recently received great impetus, and is now required in practically every secondary school in Latin America.

The most striking changes have taken place in the field of rural education. Various countries have been experimenting with traveling schools, correspondence courses for teachers, and rural normal schools, calculated to surmount lack of communications and other handicaps.

Libraries and museums, formerly considered more as depositories than as public services, are now being reorganized by technicians, many of whom receive their training in the United States. Public health is also becoming more intimately connected with the national educational systems. Parent-teachers associations are influential in several countries. Adult education is slowly taking on major importance in Latin America.

Fight for Democracy. The new social conscience shown in Latin America has been the most important force opposed to the fifth-column activities of the European dictators. The reactionary groups among the politicians,

the landowners, and the military and the ecclesiastical hierarchy that have opposed progressive social movements have favored the influence of Nazism. On the other hand, labor and other social groups have united often to demand that their government co-operate with the democracies and oppose the Fascist elements. It is to the leaders in the social movement that we have been describing that like-minded people in the United States may look for support in the fight for democracy.

We have now had our introductory visit to what is called, for want of a better term, Latin America. We have met the people, and most of us have no doubt begun to like them. We have found out the kind of races that unite to make these Southerners. We have wandered rapidly over the Caribbean, the Andes, the pampas, and the astounding Amazon Valley. We have glanced at their economic riches. We have seen them struggling with the big problem of transportation and glimpsed their future as indicated by new developments in air power and in social progress. We are now ready to go deeper. That means history. Friendship is never very deep, co-operation is never very sure, if it is based merely on the present. We must know what an individual or a nation did in earlier life if we are to understand what is being done today or likely to happen tomorrow. This excursion into the past should be a delightful task, for we will meet many surprises and receive not a few thrills. We will try especially to become acquainted with some of the leading people in these southern lands.

TEST YOURSELF

A. Do You Understand the Transportation Problem in Latin America?
The following generalizations about it are supposed to be supported by the group of facts which follows each one. Of the group of four facts given below, one does *not* support the generalization. Encircle the letter of each of these non-supporting statements.

1. The building of railways has been very difficult because of such facts as these:
 - a. The Andes Mountains form a high and almost unbroken barrier in South America.
 - b. The distance from Valparaíso to Buenos Aires is 886 miles.
 - c. One railway in Venezuela passes through 87 tunnels.
 - d. A severe landslide washed out a section of one trans-Andean railway.
2. Great progress has been made in highway development since 1930.
 - a. Many roads have to be built over mountain passes.
 - b. Highway mileage in Argentina increased by 86 per cent in 1932-1938.
 - c. The highway between Laredo, Texas, and Mexico City was opened in 1936.
 - d. Since 1936 the building of the Pan-American Highway has advanced rapidly.
3. Airways are solving many of Latin America's transportation problems.
 - a. From New York to Buenos Aires by boat requires three weeks; by air, three days.
 - b. Airplanes can deliver medical supplies to isolated areas in case of an emergency.
 - c. Representatives of all the American republics can meet quickly, if necessary, by air transport.
 - d. After war broke out in Europe in 1939, the German and Italian airlines to South America gradually ceased operations.

B. How Much Progress Has Latin America Made in Social Welfare?
Some of the following statements about this subject are true, and some are false. For those which are true, encircle the letter T; for the false, encircle the letter F.

- T F 1. The study of English is now required in practically every secondary school.
- T F 2. School teachers have taken a leading part in the movement for greater freedom for women.
- T F 3. Chile did not adopt social-security laws until after the United States had done so in 1935.
- T F 4. The Rockefeller Foundation has been aiding in health work.
- T F 5. Twenty-five years ago the people of Rio de Janeiro did not use their beaches for bathing, but today they do.

- T F 6. South America has sports stadiums bigger than the Yale Bowl (capacity 80,000).
- T F 7. Brazil is one of the more backward American countries in the field of social legislation.

C. Correspondence or Class Assignments. (See general instructions under this heading, p. viii.)

1. Why have airlines developed more rapidly than railways in Latin America? Discuss two or three important factors which answer this question.

2. What effects do you think the Pan-American Highway will have on such activities as the following: (a) the selling of United States autos and supplies in Latin America, (b) the shipment of goods by truck as compared with shipment by rail, and (c) the vacation plans of North Americans? Let your imagination work on these and other possible developments, and then write down the results of your thinking.

3. Our national Social Security Act was adopted in 1935 to provide unemployment insurance and old-age pensions. Write a paragraph on what had been done in this field before 1935 by such countries as Uruguay and Chile.

D. Suggestions for Extra Reading

Inman, Samuel Guy, *Latin America, Its Place in World Life*. Ch. 13, 14.

Raushenbush, Joan, *Look at Latin America*. Ch. 7, 8, 9.

V. THE FIRST AMERICANS

The first time that many people had ever heard of the Aleutian Islands was when the Japanese attacked them during the second World War. Then it was realized how near Alaska and the northwestern part of the United States are to Asia and how easy it is for people to get from one continent to the other. The archeologists, who are the detectives of history, have for a long time been piecing together the facts of man's early existence in that section of the world. By bringing together all the separate evidence, the story has been reconstructed. Today these "detectives" think that most of the evidence points toward the fact that migrations coming from northeastern Asia moved across Bering Strait into Alaska. The same primitive Mongoloid stock that, thousands of years later, developed into the Chinese and Japanese in Asia developed in America into the Cherokees, the Pueblos, the Mayas, the Incas, and other groups which we now call "Indian."

Four Early Groups. This migration of early peoples to America began slowly and cautiously. Like the spread of the people from eastern United States to the great West, some groups were successful and some were not. Four different developments took place. The least progressive, the ones

that stuck to their nomadic hunting life, located in the extreme north, in the Great Plains region of North America, and in the extreme south of the new continent. To gain a living the second group mixed hunting and agriculture. These tribes occupied the eastern and central section of what is now the United States, the West Indies, and Brazil. The third group was composed of agriculturists. These tribes were scattered over the mountains and plateaus, on the backbone of the continent, from New Mexico in the north to Bolivia on the south. The fourth group had the highest culture. These Indians lived in two main centers, one in Mexico and northern Central America and the other in Peru and neighboring districts. These divisions should not be regarded as rigid, for such sharp classifications are never exact. But the four divisions will help us to understand that the Mayas, the Aztecs, and the Incas, to whom we here give our attention, are selected only because they represent the highest civilization among the early American peoples.

The first migrations from Asia into America probably began following the last glacial period, anywhere from 20,000 to 15,000 years ago. The first migrants were in a very primitive stage of development. Such accom-

plishments as agriculture, pottery making, weaving, and metal work were unknown to them. The dog was their only domestic animal. Real civilization began when the migrants stopped their wandering and became farmers. They then needed permanent homes, government, schools, and temples. The discovery and development of maize, or Indian corn, was the overwhelming influence in developing civilization in America. As a result of this staple food product, permanent homes, material wealth, leisure, fine architecture, community laws, and culture followed. The development of corn was really the basis of the New World civilization.

THE MAYAS

The people who were among the first to develop a high civilization in America were the Mayas. The archeologists are united in regarding these people as among the most remarkable ever known in history. They reached the height of their development about 600 A.D. The ruins of their beautiful cities, located in Yucatán and Guatemala, are today the marvel of travelers and scientists.

Their greatest contributions to progress were in the realms of architecture, mathematics, and astronomy. Their scientists knew enough astronomy to co-ordinate the lunar month with the solar year. They devised a calendar consisting of eighteen periods of twenty days each, with five additional days at the end. The formal inauguration of the perfected calendar of the Mayas took place in the city of Copán in what is now western Honduras in 580 B.C. This remarkable calendar functioned perfectly

without the loss of one day for more than 2,000 years. Dr. Herbert J. Spinden, the great archeologist, presents astronomical evidence from the ancient inscriptions to prove that "the time-counts of the Indians were carried forward logically and without a break from the inauguration of the perfected calendar in 580 B.C. until the *autos-da-fé* [decrees following the Inquisition] of Bishop Diego de Landa in Yucatán destroyed the collections of Mayan books nearly 2,150 years later (1561 A.D.)." Long before the people of Europe knew about the zero symbol, the Mayas were using this fundamental basis of all calculations.

During the first six centuries of the Christian-era an advanced civilization was built in northern Guatemala and Honduras. Here were developed some twenty-five important cities, each one the proud possessor of beautiful palaces, imposing temples, public monuments, and fine residences. These city-states were connected by splendid roads which were bordered with prosperous farms. This was the period of the First Empire.

For some strange reason—one of the great tragedies and mysteries of history—this empire fell apart. The people left their beautiful cities and moved to Yucatán. Some great plague like yellow fever, a devastating earthquake or flood, a great drought, conquest by a powerful enemy, or some other cause was responsible for this shift of population. From about 990 to 1200, the Mayas built what is known as the Second Empire, in which they again demonstrated to their neighbors a brilliant civilization. Their gorgeous cities dotted the Yu-

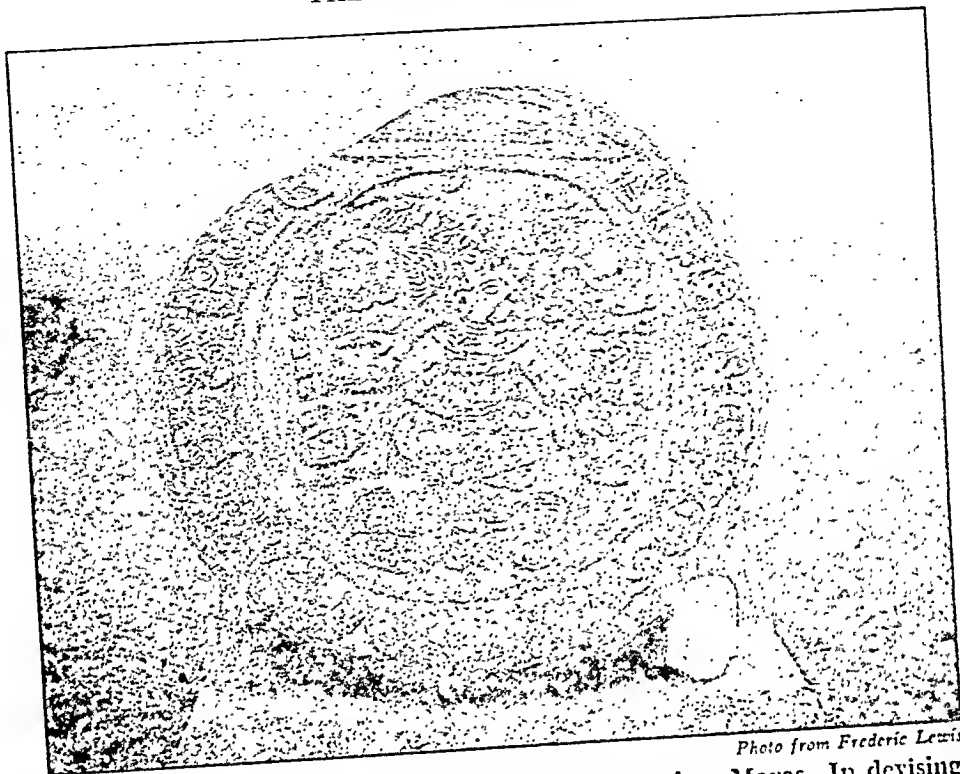


Photo from Frederic Lewis

This is one of the calendar stones carved by the ancient Mayas. In devising their calendar, they co-ordinated the lunar month with the solar year.

catán Peninsula. The more vigorous and warlike dynasties from Mexico dominated their political life during this period. By the time the Spanish conquerors arrived, the Mayan civilization for a second time had gone into decay.

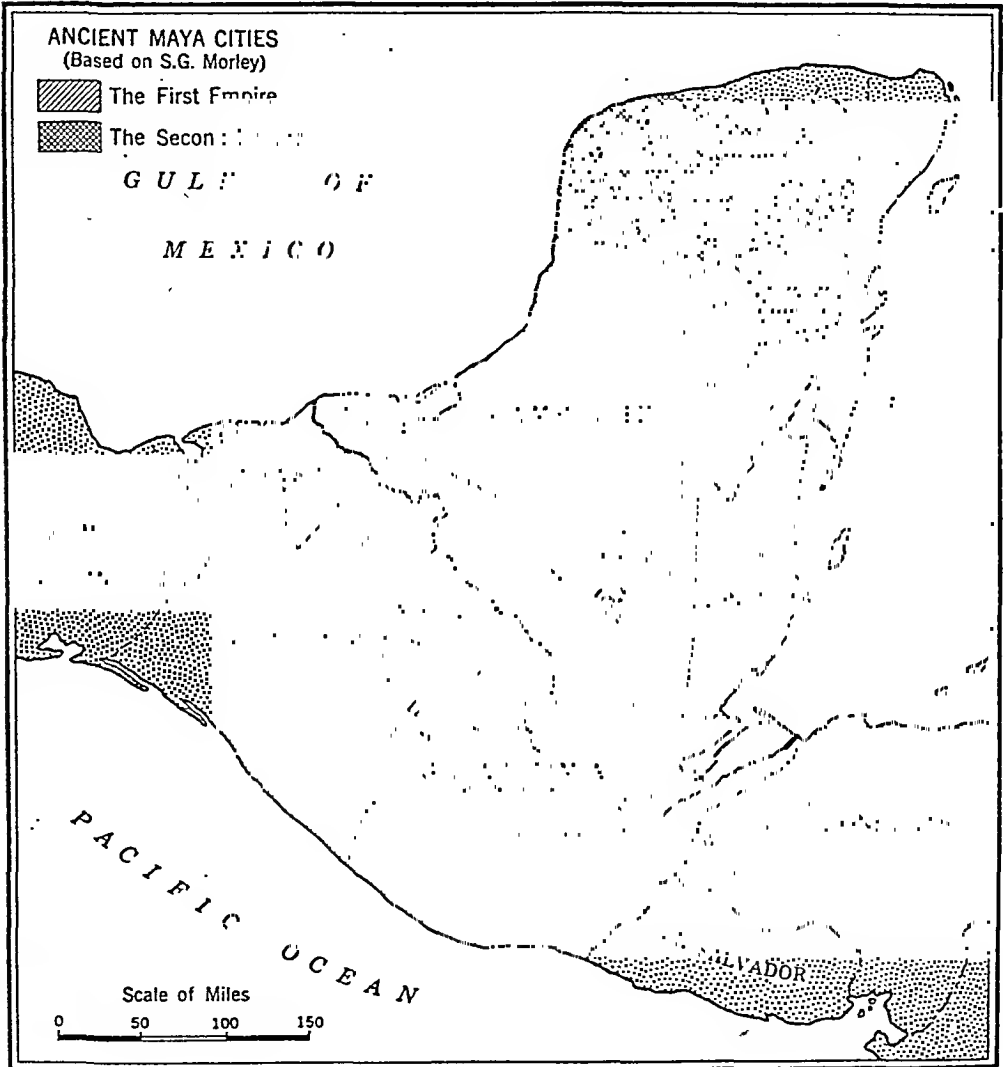
Well-Planned Cities. Careful planning went into the building of each city. The temple was usually the central structure. Ample squares and streets surrounded this temple and led to the various sections of the city. The houses of the rulers, the priests, and the principal people were built near the temple; toward the edge of the city lived the common people. Only the very great men lived in stone houses. The rest of the population

lived in small mud houses covered with thatched roofs. Some of the houses, those belonging to the wealthy people, were elaborately decorated with paintings.

But it was in their temples that the Mayas expressed their extraordinary sense of beauty. They built those structures almost always upon a mound, either natural or artificial. The typical Mayan temple was built on a series of earth terraces arranged in exact parallel order, the buildings themselves forming the sides of the square. The mounds were generally concealed by plaster or faced with stone. They never discovered the principle of the true arch. However, they overcame this difficulty by mak-

ing each course of masonry overhang the one beneath it. They delighted in decoration, and the ornamental façades of their temples are the most typical feature of their architecture.

important is the building known as the "Palace," forming an irregular quadrilateral, with a double gallery surrounding an inner structure with a similar gallery and two courtyards.



One of the most famous of their cities was Palenque, in Chiapas. It was built in the form of an amphitheater nestling on the lowest slopes of the Cordilleras. Today there is a ring of ruined palaces and temples upon artificial terraces. The most

There are three subterranean apartments down a flight of stairs. In these apartments there are three great stone tables with sculptured symbols. All around there are many designs representing priests and priestesses. The "Temple of Inscriptions" is the largest

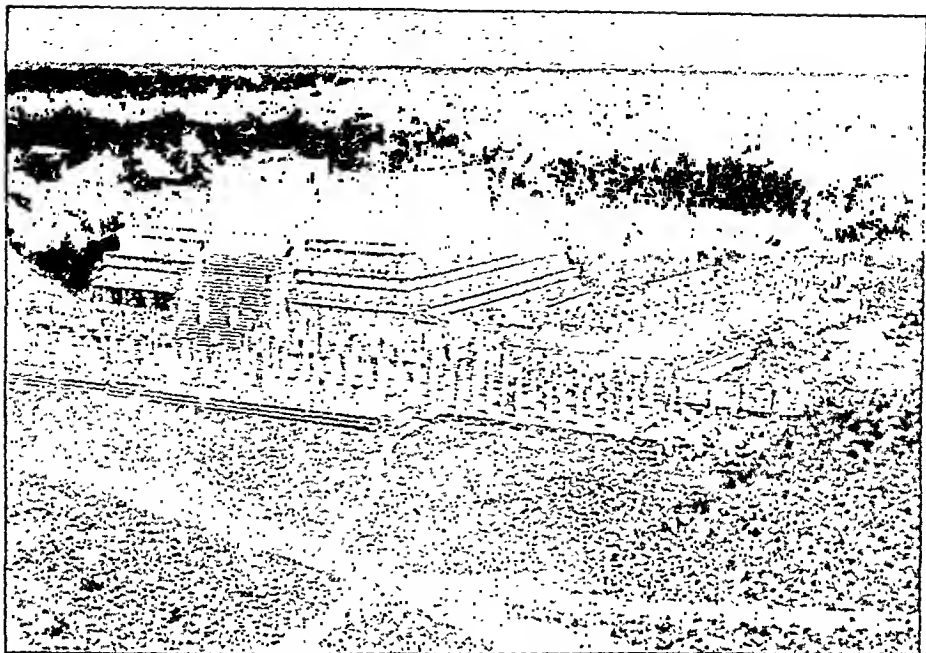


Photo from Keystone View Co.

The Temple of Warriors and the Hall of a Thousand Columns are examples of the fine architecture of the ancient Mayas recently uncovered in Yucatán. The Mayas were the Greeks of America.

edifice in Palenque. It has a façade 74 x 25 feet deep, forming a great gallery which runs along the entire front of the building. The many inscriptions justify the name given to this building.

At Izamál the colossal ruins include pyramids, tennis courts, and gigantic pillars which once supported immense galleries. One ruin is called "The House of Darkness," from the fact that no light enters the place save that which filters in by the open doorway. The vaulted roof is lost in lofty gloom.

At Chichén Itzá can be seen the ruins of a building known today as *El Castillo*, "The Castle," reached by a steep flight of steps. This was the most sacred temple and was dedicated

to the worship of Kulkulcan, the "plumed serpent" god. *Caracol*, or "Snail-Shell," is a spiral tower which was used as an astronomical observatory. The great Ball Court suggests our basketball courts, though built with stone walls and with carved rings set vertically high in the walls for "baskets." Less high and awe-inspiring, but far more challenging is the Hall of a Thousand Columns, set in a plaza surrounded by temples and colonnades. An edifice called the "Nunnery" is filled with gorgeous decorations.

The *Casa del Gobernador*, at Uxmál, is one of the most important buildings of the Mayas. It occupies three colossal terraces, and its friezes run in a line of 325 feet, divided into

panels. Copán, with its monolithic ruins, is one of the most interesting of the ancient Mayan cities.

Art. The Mayas showed their greatest artistic skill in the sculpturing of huge stone slabs which were erected all over their empire to mark the passage of time, or to commemorate great heroes or events. These columns were carved on two sides with figures of rulers, priests, and warriors. Often twenty feet in height and sometimes fronted with sacrificial altars, they undoubtedly had some religious significance. The carved lintels which were placed over the doorways of the temples show also the artistic ability of these ancient peoples. Most of them portray religious scenes in which figure the forms of their gods and priests.

The Mayas were expert at pottery making. Handicapped by not having invented the potter's wheel, they nevertheless made beautiful cylindrical vases, tripod dishes, and bottle-necked vessels. In textiles and gold and silver jewelry they also used their art patterns, most of which were simple geometric designs or decorative figures of serpents, jaguars, monkeys, and birds. Their art was a strong, vigorous, coherent expression of beauty.

Everyday Life and Customs. Early in the morning the women rose to their daily task of grinding maize into a fine meal to make the flat cakes which, then as now, formed the main article of food of the Mayas. Women wore hand-woven cotton skirts. The upper part of their bodies was covered with a light cotton blouse, often embroidered. Their hair was sometimes braided or twisted around their heads and adorned with ribbons

or flowers. Men dressed in a loin cloth, wound several times around the waist. They also had cloaks which they tied about their shoulders. Both men and women wore sandals made out of rope or dried deerskin. They often tattooed their bodies.

At dawn the men arose and prepared for the day's work. They ate their morning meal alone, served by the women. Among the Mayas the men always ate alone. Then the men departed for the fields, salt mines, public works, or whatever their occupation might be. While the men worked, the women took care of the children. They might also weave and engage in other domestic crafts. Toward the evening the men returned, washed and changed into clean clothes, and ate their evening meal. After the meal they gathered outside their houses, squatting on the ground. They lighted perhaps a roll of tobacco leaf and discussed the happenings of the day, rumors of distant wars, strange signs seen in the forest or in the sky, and the general gossip.

Maize was the staple food of the Mayas. When the time came to plant their crops toward the end of the dry season, the men went into the forest, selected a piece of land, and cut down the jungle growth. Before starting their work they prayed to the gods of the soil. When the corn began to grow, the Mayas went again to the fields and built altars to the maize god. At the time of the harvest some of the best grain was offered on the altars, and some was saved as seed for the next year. As the farmer went along breaking the ears of corn from the stalks, he murmured a prayer of thanks.

The Mayas also cultivated the sweet potato, the squash, beans, and the chili pepper. Chocolate drinking was indulged in by those who could afford it.

Education. The Mayas had large families. The birth of a son was always the occasion of many ceremonies to propitiate the deities and assure a happy future for the child. Four days after the birth a great feast was held. Miniature weaving and spinning implements were placed in the hands of the baby if a girl, and toy weapons if a boy. Long-winded speeches were made, the prospects of pain, suffering, and death being declaimed at great length by the speakers. From a very early age the child's training began. Boys of the better classes were handed over to the priests to be educated. They received instruction in history, traditions, religion, arts, and crafts.

At about twelve years of age, boys and girls underwent a ceremonial reception into the adult community. After that, the boys left home and went to live in a large house. At this age the girls were free to marry. The Mayas married very young, and marriages were arranged by the parents. The wedding ceremony was performed by priests with much ceremonial rejoicing. Immediately following the ceremony the newly wed couple went to live with the parents of the bride while their own house was being built. Polygamy was not practiced among the Mayas, and adultery was a very serious offense.

Enthusiastic Ball Players. The favorite game of the Mayas seems to have been *pok-ta-pok*, partly a religious ceremony and partly a sport.

It was played in a long court sometimes as large as 190 yards long by 40 wide, enclosed by high walls, and arranged in the form of two T's placed base to base. The two teams stood at each end and used a hard rubber ball. The object of the game was to drive the ball through one of two rings set high up, in the middle of each of the side walls. This required great skill. One of the rules of the game was that the ball had to be hit with the hips (some authorities say that it could also be hit with the hand). Betting was free and wild. So enthusiastic did the players become at times that some of them might be carried out of the court dead. The spectators yelled to their heart's satisfaction. When the ball passed through the stone ring, everyone made a dash for the gates, because the champion had the right to seize the cloaks and jewelry of the spectators. The winners received many honors and presents.

Formal Entertainment. The Mayas were very fond of dancing and entertaining. The nobles enjoyed feasting and frequently entertained each other at very elaborate banquets. Only the men attended these banquets. However, the women also had their own banquets, which were somewhat simpler than those which the men attended. Musical instruments, including flutes and drums, were played at the festivals.

Religion. Religion formed the most important part of Mayan life. At the head of the state was the priesthood, members of which were often the actual rulers. Since there was an abundance of rainfall in the area where they lived, many of the gods were connected with thunder, light-

ning, and rain. Although the Mayas did not believe in the resurrection of the body, they did believe in a life beyond the grave where each person would be rewarded or punished according to his actions while alive. The bodies of ordinary citizens were usually buried near their homes, and sometimes samples of grain and also their personal idols were placed with them in the graves. Cremation was the rule among members of the aristocracy and priesthood. Although the Mayas were a peaceful people, they engaged in occasional wars. They usually tried to capture, rather than to kill, their enemies. These captives—especially when of noble birth—might be sacrificed to the Mayan gods.

The high priest exercised a great influence over the people. He was never allowed to walk in public; instead he was carried on a litter. He showed himself to the masses only on the most important occasions. He advised the rulers, acted as oracle, and installed the subordinate priests. He taught the children of the nobles and wrote the sacred books. Other priests attended to the religious ceremonies, studied the sacred books, studied the skies, and interpreted the calendar. They were the intellectuals.

City of the Sacred Well. At the beginning of every year a great feast was held in honor of the god presiding over the year. There were four such gods, called year-bearers. Great multitudes participated in these feasts with dances, burning of incense, and offering of sacrifices. The blood of fowls was sacrificed and quantities of intoxicating beverages made of the juice of the maguey, from corn, and from honey were drunk. A great

festival-dance was also held in honor of the gods of the underworld. Many devout people pierced their ears and other parts of their bodies, gathered the blood upon pieces of cloth, and offered it to the gods. On special occasions a captive or slave would be bound to a scaffold and the warriors would dance around him, shooting their arrows at a white spot painted over his heart. When the nation was in danger through war, pestilence, or drought, people would gather from all parts of the empire at the sacred city of Chichén Itzá, to make special offerings to the Rain god. A beautiful, flower-bedecked maiden was usually the willing victim. At daybreak the crowd would approach the sacred well in solemn procession carrying their offerings of jade, gold, beautiful vessels, and idols. They would stop at the little altar at the edge of the great circular wall, which was 150 feet in diameter and 70 feet to the water. After prayer and burning of incense, they would throw their gifts into the well. Then the human sacrifice would be brought. When the music reached its highest pitch, the priests would catch hold of the victim and swing her in a great curve out in the air, above the well. A splash and a huge cry went up to the gods for aid and mercy. The water closed over the victim. If by noon the maiden was still alive, she would be dragged out and honored as a goddess.

Sources of Mayan History. The history of the Mayas, as far as we know it today, has been gleaned from the study of the ruins of their architecture, from descriptions written by Spaniards after the conquest, and from two principal sets of records

called the *Books of Chilán Balam* and the *Popul Vuh*. Both of these were written in Spanish script after the conquest. The first was written in Yucatán, in native idiom, by native scribes who had learned Spanish. The second was written in Quiché, a dialect of Guatemala, by a native who knew Spanish.

According to the legends contained in the *Chilán Balam* and the *Popul Vuh* books, the "first people" went to Guatemala and to Yucatán from the east in boats. They were known as the "People of the Serpent." At the end of each generation the Mayas moved to a new city. They built in all about 150 cities, which they named according to the most important incident occurring upon their arrival at the new site.

But the civilization of the Mayas was not to last. Yucatán was invaded by the Toltecs, fierce warriors who came from the Valley of Mexico. They plundered the Mayan cities and killed many people. This is what the old manuscripts call "the changing of the times." The most notable of the Toltecs who came to Yucatán was Quetzalcoatl, whose name in the Nahuatl language means the "Plumed Serpent." He brought his warriors from the Valley of Mexico and conquered the Mayas. He helped them form a federation of city-states, known as "The League of Mayapán." This league was made up of the four principal Mayan cities: Izamal, Uxmál, Chichén Itzá, and Mayapán.

A Great Leader. Quetzalcoatl was the first ruler of the Mayapán League. He is described as white-skinned, blue-eyed, and bearded. He preached peace and insisted that the Divinity wanted

only the offering of a contrite heart. He built great temples, encouraged the arts and sciences, and governed with justice and firmness. One day, after many years, he departed for Mexico from whence he had come. The Mayas called him Kulkulcan, and built a great temple at Chichén Itzá in his honor.

The Mayapán League declined after it lost its great leader. Other important tribes had developed in southern Mexico. The Zapotecs, who lived in what is now the State of Oaxaca, attained a high state of civilization, as was demonstrated by the most remarkable of recent archeological discoveries in Monte Albán. The most powerful people of the later period, when the Spaniards came to Mexico, were the well-known Aztecs.

THE AZTECS

The Aztecs were late comers from the north. They established themselves in about 1325 A.D. on the side of a shallow lake in Tenochtitlán, which is now known as the Valley of Mexico. They drained off the water from part of the lake and built an island city with canals, bridges, flower gardens, and temples. They were great warriors. Taking advantage of the divisions among the Toltecs and other tribes, the Aztecs soon became the dominant force in all southern and central Mexico.

The Aztec Empire. They excelled in politics, trade, and commerce. Tenochtitlán, their capital, was the center of a powerful trade system, with roads leading in all directions to the distant provinces. Commerce was protected by a huge standing army. Tribute was levied on conquered

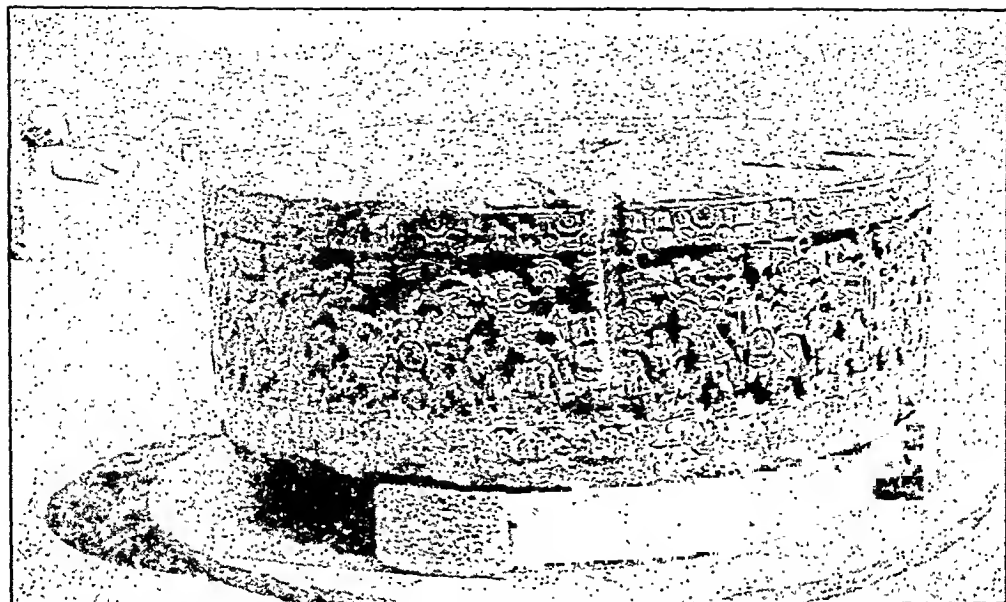


Photo from Keystone View Co.

On this stone slab placed at the top of one of their temples, the Aztecs offered up war captives to the gods as human sacrifices.

tribes in all parts of the country. A strict system of laws protected the citizens from injustice, and crimes and disorder were severely suppressed. The death penalty was often exacted for such comparatively simple acts as becoming intoxicated or squandering family wealth.

Moctezuma (or Montezuma), the last of the Aztec kings, lived in great splendor. He surrounded himself with men of noble blood and was served by thousands of slaves. Beautiful gardens and menageries filled with rare birds and animals were maintained for his pleasure. He is said to have kept a group of one thousand slaves constantly at work cleaning and sweeping the streets of the city and scrubbing the walls of the palaces and temples until they shone with dazzling whiteness.

Education. From early childhood children were taught courtesy and

self-control. The advice given by an Aztec father when his sons left him to go out into the world is a good indication of this discipline:

Revere and salute thy elders and never show them any sign of contempt. Console the poor and unfortunate with kind words. Do not talk too much and never interrupt others. Eat not too fast and show no dislike if a dish displeases thee. When thou walkest, look whither thou goest, so thou mayest knock against no one. Live by thy work, for thou shalt be the happier therefor. Never lie. When thou tellest anyone what has been told thee, tell the simple truth and add nothing thereto. Be silent in regard to the faults thou seest in others.

Religion. One of the most outstanding features of the life of the Aztecs was their barbarous religion. Each year the priests sacrificed thousands of human victims that had been captured in war. These victims were usually placed upon a stone slab, held

by several priests, and their hearts cut out of their living bodies. Before this was done, a ceremony was performed by which the Aztecs believed these victims were changed from men to gods. Thus, they were not killing men, but sacrificing lesser gods to those more powerful.

The suppression of surrounding tribes and the numerous wars waged for the purpose of obtaining human sacrifices weakened the Aztecs' hold on the country. Built on tribute, and held together by force, the empire was ripe for disintegration. Such conditions greatly favored the Spanish conqueror, Cortés. He, with his little force of some six hundred men, landed in Mexico in April, 1519. With the help of the enemies of Moctezuma, he soon conquered the land. Thus ended one of the great Indian civilizations in Mexico, as was soon to end the greater civilization of the Incas to the south. We now turn to a consideration of this remarkable empire, which had its capital in Cuzco, Peru.

THE INCAS

As the Mayas have been called the Greeks of America, because of their beautiful art and architecture, the Incas have been likened to the Romans because of their ability to govern many peoples. The Inca Empire extended over much more territory than the Mayan Empire, for it reached from southern Colombia, down through Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia into northern Chile and Argentina. It was not an original civilization, like the Mayan, but a federation of many peoples, which reached the height of its development

about 600 years later than did the Mayan. When the Spaniards arrived in South America, the empire was still flourishing, although division had begun to undermine its strength. The early Spanish writers testify unanimously to the fact that the Incas had one of the most remarkable governments ever developed. Its unique quality was based on a powerful central government that controlled its millions of citizens through a communal system that guaranteed that every individual would have a piece of land and plenty to eat and to wear. Land was owned by the state and assigned to each family. Labor was performed for the benefit of the whole people. Responsibilities and opportunities were apportioned to all by the emperor, who was considered as a god.

Size of the Empire. The strong, Quechua-speaking people who organized the empire came from the eastern rim of the Andean plateau. They added to their own empire, one by one, the older civilizations that surrounded them. The Kingdom of Chan Chan in the north of Peru was one. The powerful Aynará people about Lake Titicaca was another. *Inca* was the name, not of a people, but of the ruling family or clan; the chief, or emperor, who ruled as the center of a rigid system was also known as the Inca. The diplomatic way in which one Inca introduced his rule over neighboring tribes is illustrated by his dealing with the inhabitants of Tucumán, now a northern province of Argentina. These ambitious, primitive tribes heard of the advanced culture of the Incas. Messengers were dispatched to Cuzco beg-

ging the Inca to count the people of Tucumán as among his subjects and to send them princes of the royal blood to teach them the arts, the language, and the religion of the Incas. The emperor granted the request. He likewise sent colonists among them, as was his custom in incorporating a new state. He appointed instructors to teach manual and agricultural arts, metal work, spinning, and weaving. In this way he won them to the Inca way of life and made the people much more loyal to him than his army could have done.

An Early Experiment in Socialism. The government of the Inca empire was autocratic in form but socialistic in spirit. A group of nobles ruled the empire under the absolute authority of the Inca. He was not only head of the government; he was also the commander of the army, the head of the priesthood, and the chief lawgiver. As the Inca was considered the direct descendant of the Sun god, he was revered and worshiped by his people. To question his will was to be guilty of blasphemy. Such a crime was punished by death.

The whole empire was managed as a single economic unit. All food, clothing, metals, and tools were distributed to the various classes of society, according to their occupations and respective needs. The farmers were given seeds and fertilizers, the craftsmen were provided with wool and cotton, and the precious metals were distributed among the artisans. The produce of the farmers was shared by the state, the church, and the individual.

Laws required that all able-bodied

individuals not otherwise employed should cultivate crops. Tracts of land were first set apart for the support of religion. Next came the land set apart for those not able to work for themselves. Then the workers were permitted to till their own land. Finally, the laborers cultivated the land set aside for the support of the imperial government. This was made a festive occasion, during which they sang songs in praise of the Inca as they worked. No favoritism was permitted. Individuals were given the products of their fields for their own use. As an insurance against famine, every village had its storehouse filled with emergency supplies. Terraces were built on the steep mountain slopes, which were held in place with stone walls. Crops were planted upon these terraces, thus adding to the amount of food raised.

Graft was practically unknown. There was no leisure class, and there were no drudges. No healthy person might be idle; no one might beg. The necessities of life were provided for all. The weakness in the system was that it did not develop individual initiative. Though the upper classes enjoyed many privileges, the poor had little opportunity to rise, for they were expected to continue in the occupation of their fathers. Submission and obedience to his betters were the virtues of the common man. This internal situation enabled Pizarro, the Spanish conqueror, to gain a victory over the Inca and his empire with relative ease.

When a new province was added to the empire, it was not exploited or taxed unduly. Roads and fortresses were immediately built. The new



Photo from Ewing Galloway

Above the city of Cuzco, one-time capital of the Inca Empire, is this ancient rock throne, from which the Inca emperor and his court watched athletic games and reviewed troop movements. The throne was carved out of one huge rock, probably by means of tools made of some kind of stone having a still harder surface. At the left are the ruins of the ancient fort.

land was thus united with the old. If population was sparse in the new province, whole blocks of people might be moved to the new territory to further the development of the land. The rulers of the provinces were known as *curasos*. They were given authority over numerous sub-officials who aided them. All bowed to the will of the chief Inca at Cuzco. Sometimes former leaders of the conquered provinces retained their power, but Inca nobles were assigned to help them as vice-governors. These kept a watchful eye over their leaders in case laws were passed which might be detrimental to the Inca. The magnificent road system enabled swift runners to carry messages to all parts of the empire. Relay houses were built at intervals of about two miles apart. In this way messages could be carried from Cuzco, Peru, to Quito, Ecuador, in eight days—a distance of 1,000 miles. If a faster way of communication was needed, the smoke of fires served as a telegraph. In this way rebellions could be quickly suppressed.

In the administration of justice the Inca rulers set an example of efficiency. All sections of the empire were regularly visited by high officials. Federal judges from Cuzco tried the more important cases, leaving the rest to the local officials. Death was the penalty for serious offenses—stealing being considered as very serious. Logging was frequently used as a deterrent of crime. Fines were rarely imposed since private property was unknown. Laws were usually respected, for the Inca was considered god. Cultural unity was achieved within the empire by forcing the in-

habitants to speak the official language, though native dialects might also be spoken.

Religion. The official religion of the Inca rulers was universally respected. Freedom was given to the local tribes to continue to worship their local gods, provided they were willing to acknowledge the supremacy of the Sun god. The following is one of their beautiful prayers:

Lord of all lords,
Mine eyes fail me
For longing to see thee;
For the sole desire to know thee.
Might I behold thee,
Might I know thee,
Might I consider thee,
Might I understand thee.

At Cuzco the famous Temple to the Sun was located. Smaller temples were found scattered throughout the provinces. Rocks, sticks, lakes, stars, and animals also served as objects of worship. Human sacrifices were strictly forbidden under severe penalties, but occasionally these laws were broken. Many religious festivals were held throughout the year, the greatest being that of the Feast of the Sun, in which the aristocratic class especially participated. Nine days of feasting followed days of fasting and purification. The Incas believed in the existence of life after death, a heavenly place for those who had been good and everlasting torture for sinners. Fair maidens entered convents to be nuns. There they were trained to spin and weave the sacrificial robes for the priests and to serve in the temples. Girls of unusual beauty might enter the harems of the Inca and his nobles, as a religious duty.

Agriculture. The chief occupation was farming. This was intensive and scientifically planned. Every inch of soil was used, and rich harvests resulted. In this work all members of the family had a part. The men plowed the fields. The women broke the clods and picked out the weeds. The children and old people helped, for everyone was required to do his share. The chief farm product was maize. It is interesting to note that the white potato was first produced in Peru. The chief foods of the people consisted of maize, potatoes, dried llama meat, *chicha*, a kind of beer made from corn, and a tea produced from the juice of the maguey plant. An intensive system of irrigation was used, the water being supplied by the mountain streams. Llamas were used as beasts of burden, as well as for meat and wool. The Incas were the only people in all America who domesticated animals.

Other occupations besides farming were fishing and hunting. The former was performed with the aid of hook and line, nets and harpoons. In hunting great organized drives for the capture of wild animals were held. In these drives the animals were either lassoed or else killed with stones and clubs.

Art. In the cultivation of the fine arts the Incas proved inferior to the standard set by their neighbors to the north, the Mayas. They were lacking in the fields of science and learning, for they had no efficient writing system. They kept accounts with the use of a series of knotted, colored strings, known as *quipus*. Being a practical people, they were more interested in the application of knowl-

edge than in abstract learning. In pottery making the Incas showed some skill, but their designs were apt to be standardized because individual initiative was discouraged. In textiles they made the greatest advance of all native Americans. The finest types of weaving and dyeing were achieved by these people. The cochineal bug furnished a rich, red dye which was profusely used in Indian textiles. Spinning was done by hand, and all women were required to participate in this occupation. In metal work the Inca artisan has never been surpassed. His intricately wrought ornaments of gold and silver have ever been a source of wonderment. Copper and bronze were used for tools. Gold and silver were used mainly for decorative purposes, as they possessed no monetary value.

The greatest example of artistry in the use of precious metals was the famous Temple of the Sun, at Cuzco. In this great edifice, gold, silver and copper were used lavishly. Gold leaf covered the walls, and golden images adorned the altars. In the royal palaces of the Inca and in those of his nobles the very household utensils were made of gold and silver. The gardens of the chief were adorned with gold and silver ornaments and figures of animals and plants of intricate design.

The Incas as Builders. Perhaps the genius of the Inca empire for organization and practical efficiency is most clearly shown in the work of engineering. Two great highways, one on the coast and one through the Andes, connected the vast empire from north to south. These highways were in turn connected by a series of

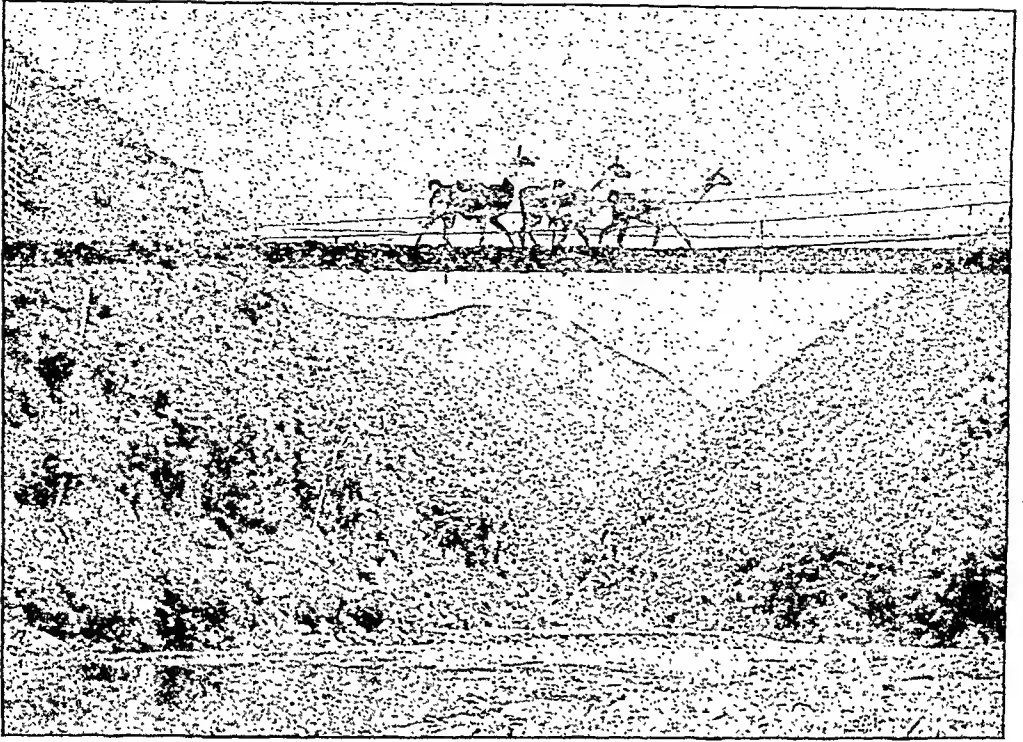


Photo by James Sawders

Suspension bridges and llamas as beasts of burden were found by Pizarro when he conquered Peru. They are still important in mountain transportation.

crossroads. Thus, communication and transportation were made easy between the interior and the coast. Roads were built at great heights over breath-taking precipices. Rivers were crossed by suspension bridges made of woven willow rods. Stone slabs served for crossings of the smaller streams. Steep precipices were scaled by galleries cut in the solid rock. Deep ravines were filled with stone and earth. Aqueducts were built with astounding skill, and magnificent temples were erected with the aid of brick and rock.

At the northern entrance of the capital, Cuzco, a gigantic fortress was erected. It required the work of 20,000 men, during a period of fifty years. Men were drafted by the state to do

this work. Many laborers perished in the arduous task of constructing this monumental piece of ancient architecture. A portion of this fortress is still standing.

Social Customs. People were required to engage in certain occupations by the state, according to their qualifications. All individuals were required to marry, boys at the age of twenty, girls at eighteen. Holidays were regularly held to celebrate weddings on a wholesale basis. Those who had reached marriageable age and who had not chosen their mates previously were required to choose them on this day. Otherwise a choice was made for them by the state. At the age of six the children, both girls and boys, came under the direction

of the state. They were trained for their future work according to their qualifications. If soldiers were needed for the army, the strongest boys were selected. Where farmers were needed, a certain number of youths were trained for this occupation.

At the age of sixteen the young men of noble blood became citizens. They had to pass a severe test which lasted nine days. This test included fasting and physical exercise, with ordeals to test their prowess and endurance. If successful in these tests, the youth was declared a citizen and was given the symbols of his new rank—the golden earrings and the loin cloth. If he failed to pass this test, he was considered forever disgraced by his fellows.

Downfall through Division. Such an empire was not destined to endure forever. In 1533 Pizarro completed his conquest of this vast domain with comparative ease, destroying forever the power of the Inca rulers. The seeds of disintegration had already been sown when Pizarro appeared on the scene. The empire was divided; two Incas contested for the supreme control. These two half-brothers, Huascar and Atahualpa, had fought a bloody civil war, as a result of which the empire had been greatly weakened. Pizarro treacherously invited Atahualpa to meet him in the great plaza of Cajamarca. After insulting and attacking the guard with strange guns and horses, which the Indians had never seen before, the Spaniards captured the emperor. The people were helpless without their leader. The treacherous murder of the Inca, after he had given the Spaniards a roomful of golden treasure

for his freedom, was the final blow. It led to the total destruction of the empire.

Most of the beautiful art treasures of Peru were destroyed by the conquerors in their mad scramble for wealth. Even the splendid roads and bridges were allowed to deteriorate. Thus passed into oblivion another one of the greatest peoples known to history.

LINK BETWEEN PAST AND PRESENT

The great early American civilizations were supplanted by that of the Spaniards. But their descendants still inhabit the land. This is a fact of fundamental importance, which students of Latin America must constantly keep in mind. In Latin America there are some 20,000,000 pure Indians, with four times that many more who have Indian blood in their veins. The history and traditions of these early Americans still exert a powerful influence on life in Southern America. A foreign archeologist saw an Indian silently watching the white men digging up the ruins of a pre-Inca civilization. "What are you thinking?" asked the foreigner, "I am wondering how soon we will dig you up," replied the Indian. No one who expects to understand the Southern Americans will fail to give an important place to the Indian civilizations of the past and to the millions of Indians that today inhabit those lands.

The modern visitor to Latin America will find the work of these detectives of the scientific world, the archeologists, intensely interesting. Only twenty-eight miles from the City of Mexico, the traveler may view the

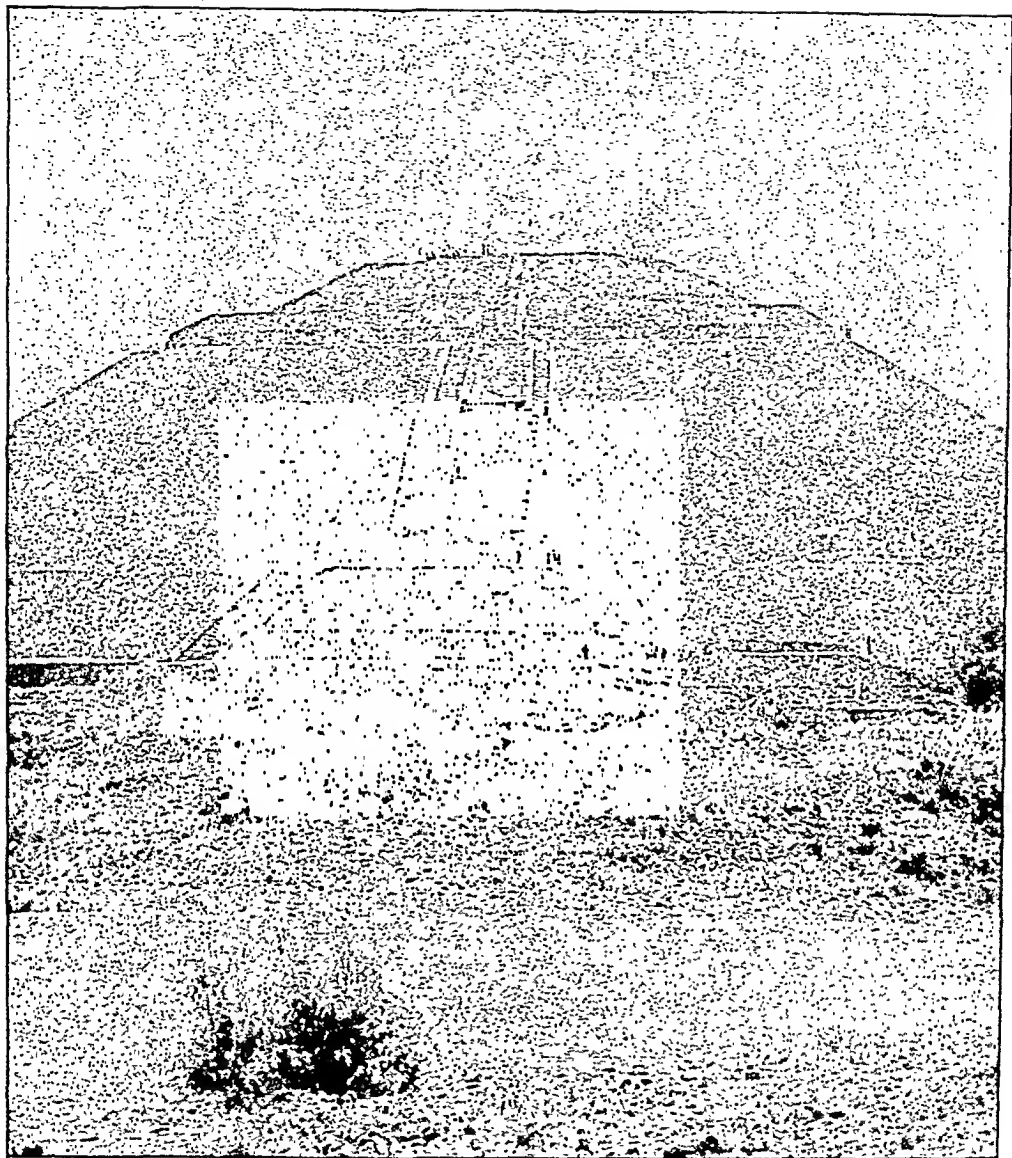


Photo from Ewing Galloway

The Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacán, near Mexico City, is one of the most impressive remains of early Mexican civilization. It is two hundred ten feet high and covers eleven acres. Near it, in what was once a sacred city, is another large pyramid—the Pyramid of the Moon. The two are connected by the Avenue of the Dead.

two great Toltec Pyramids of the Sun and the Moon, which are as impressive as the pyramids of Egypt. Several hundred such pyramids, hidden in undergrowth and debris, are known to exist in Mexico. They only await the money and the skill of archeologists to divulge the secrets of the mighty past. The Inca ruins in and near the city of Cuzco fully reward the visitor who travels thousands of miles to see them. The ruins around Lake Titicaca, those in Ecuador, in Colombia, in Guatemala, and in numerous other sections offer a great challenge to those who would reveal further the inspiring history of early America.

Archeologists of the United States have proved themselves to be great contributors to inter-American friendship. Certain commercial and political exploiters may have given this country a bad name south of the Rio Grande. On the other hand, unselfish scientists like Hiram Bingham and Max Uhle in South America and Herbert J. Spinden and Silvanus Morley in Middle America have glorified the name of their native land by their labors among their Southern neighbors to show the glories of Maya, Inca, pre-Aztec, and other civilizations that began their development before Christ was born in Bethlehem.

Contributions to Modern Culture.
In a summary of the great contribu-

tions that ancient America has made to civilization,¹ Dr. Spinden states that Mexico and Peru were conquered because of their high civilization, not in spite of it. They were more interested in the enjoyment of knowledge and beauty than in devising war machines. The development of such universally used products as Indian corn, the potato, the tomato, tobacco, and cotton testify to the importance of these people. They had also carried the arts of weaving and dyeing to a high point. The stone structures of these early Americans were remarkable for strength and beauty; and their roads, irrigation ditches, and terraces for the raising of crops on the mountainsides showed advanced development. The place-value of numerals and the use of the zero was known in America earlier than in most other parts of the world. In astronomical observations of the sun, moon, and stars these Indians showed remarkable advancement. Reverence for the gods, honor toward parents, loyalty to truth, honesty, chastity, and the solidarity of the community were the ideals of the Mayas and Incas and, to a lesser extent, of other American peoples. When the white man reads about these great contributions to history by the people in early America, he can no longer boast of being the sole leader of civilization in the Western World.

¹ *Forum*, August and September, 1925

TEST YOURSELF:

A. Can You Identify These Names? The following names of people and cities are important in the story of the first Americans. For each statement, write in the parentheses the letter of the name which matches it. (Notice that there are more names than statements.)

- a. Herbert J. Spinden
- b. Atahualpa
- c. Moctezuma
- d. Chichén Itzá
- e. Quetzalcoatl

- f. Cuzco
- g. Palenque
- h. Pizarro
- i. Tenochtitlán
- j. Cortés

- () 1. The capital city of the Incas
- () 2. The last Inca, executed by the Spaniards
- () 3. A leading archeologist who has studied the early Indian civilizations
- () 4. The Spanish leader who conquered the Aztecs
- () 5. The capital city of the Aztecs
- () 6. One of the Maya cities of the Second Empire
- () 7. The Spanish conqueror of the Inca Empire
- () 8. The last Aztec ruler, conquered by the Spaniards

B. What Were the Important Features of the Great Indian Civilizations? For each of the following statements about the Mayas, Aztecs, and Incas, you are offered four possible completing phrases. Three of them are correct; one is incorrect. Cross out the *incorrect* completion.

1. The Aztecs
 - a. built their capital city before the Mayas built Palenque.
 - b. made living sacrifices of their captives.
 - c. were outstanding as warriors.
 - d. did not win the loyalty of their subject tribes.
2. The Mayas
 - a. invented an accurate calendar.
 - b. were excellent architects and sculptors.
 - c. migrated to Yucatan after defeat by the Aztecs.
 - d. played a game somewhat like basketball.
3. The Incas
 - a. did not believe in a life after death.
 - b. had a dictatorial form of government.
 - c. practiced a kind of communism.
 - d. were expert weavers.
4. As a race the Indians are very important to the Americas today because
 - a. they contributed to us such foods as corn.
 - b. they are the ancestors of a large portion of present-day Latin Americans.

- c. they contributed to the Spaniards the domesticated horse.
- d. they built monuments and buildings which are still revealing the story of their culture.

C. What Are the Similarities among the Three Great Indian Civilizations?

Each of the following statements is true of one or more of them. Within the parentheses in front of each statement write the letter or letters of each Indian group of whom it was true, using A for Aztecs, M for Mayas, and I for Incas.

- () 1. The cultivation of corn was practiced.
- () 2. Temples and other religious structures were their most important buildings.
- () 3. Human sacrifices were made to the gods.
- () 4. The ruler was an absolute dictator.
- () 5. They domesticated llamas for food and clothing, and for beasts of burden.

D. Correspondence or Class Assignments

1. The Mayas had a remarkable culture for that period of history. Write a brief description of their most important cultural achievements.

2. Write a paragraph explaining the meaning of this statement: "The development of corn was really the basis of New World civilization."

3. What were the advantages and disadvantages of the Inca economic system? Compile a list of points on each side of the question. If possible, compare it with any similar economic system today.

E. Suggestions for Extra Reading

Williams, M. W., *People and Politics of Latin America*. Ch. 2.

HALF-COURSE REVIEW

A. The Geography of Latin America. The accompanying map shows the principal waterways of the other Americas and also the twenty nations which they contain. Each item on the map is indicated by a number. After studying the maps in the front of the book and on page 50, you should be able to give the correct number for each of the items in the following lists. On this map the rivers and bodies of water are numbered from 1 to 8; the countries from 9 to 25. Place within the parentheses in front of each item the appropriate number on the map that indicates the location of the item in question.

Rivers and Bodies of Water

- () a. La Plata River
- () b. Amazon River
- () c. Magdalena River
- () d. Orinoco River
- () e. Panama Canal
- () f. Gulf of Mexico
- () g. Strait of Magellan
- () h. Caribbean Sea

Countries

- () i. Argentina
- () j. Bolivia
- () k. Brazil
- () l. Chile

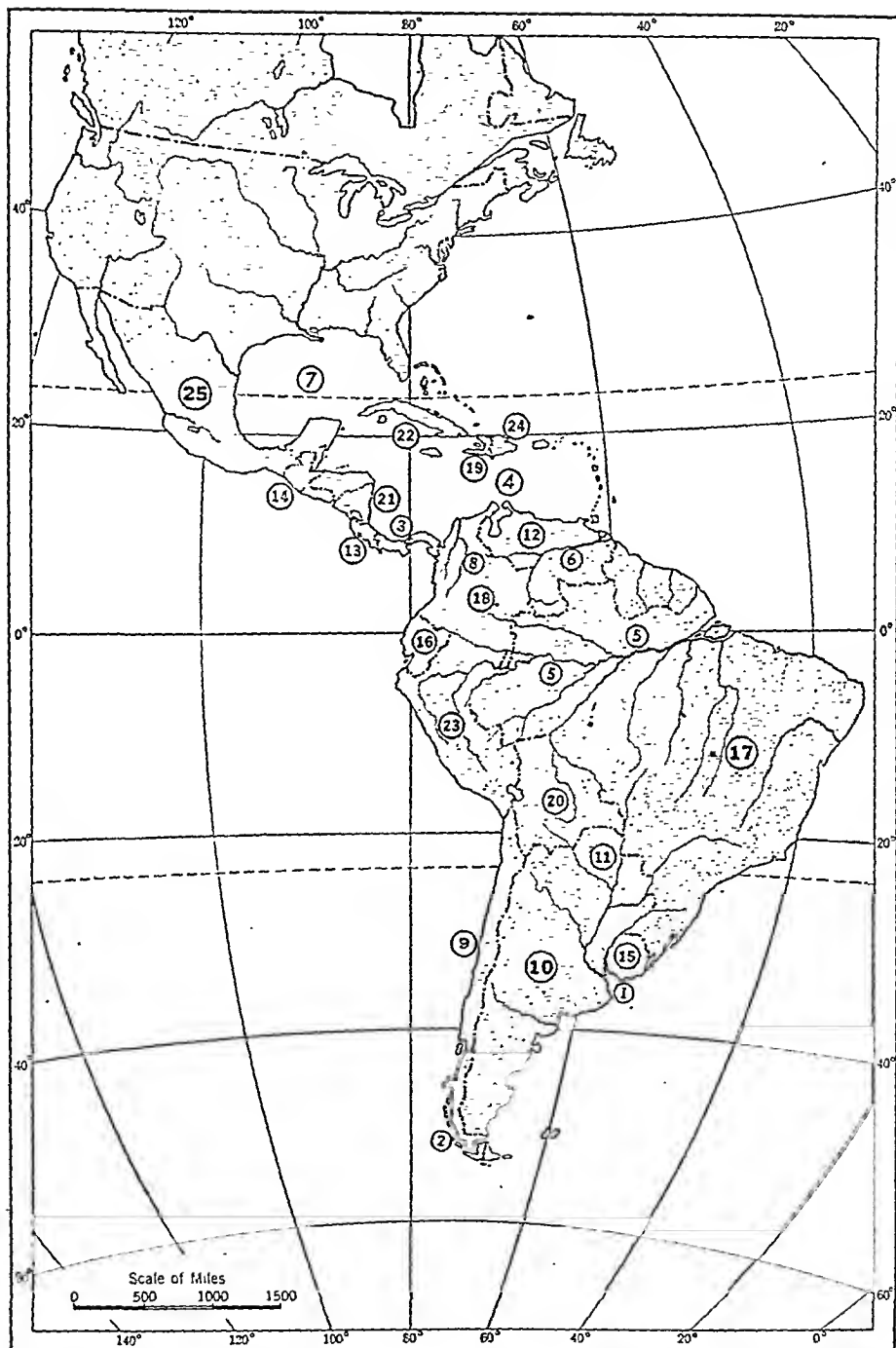
Countries (cont'd)

- () m. Colombia
- () n. Costa Rica
- () o. Cuba
- () p. Dominican Republic
- () q. Ecuador
- () r. Guatemala
- () s. Haiti
- () t. Mexico
- () u. Nicaragua
- () v. Paraguay
- () w. Peru
- () x. Uruguay
- () y. Venezuela

B. How Does the Geography of Latin America Affect Its Life? Each of the following statements about this subject is followed by four completions. One of these is incorrect. Cross out the incorrect phrase.

1. In 1940 the United States took the following steps to help defend the Western Hemisphere

- a. Provided a third set of locks for the Panama Canal.
- b. Obtained from Britain several bases in the Atlantic.
- c. Began to build an interocean canal across Nicaragua.
- d. At the request of Holland, sent soldiers to occupy Curaçao and the Aruba Islands.



2. The base from which the British cruisers attacked the German battleship *Graf Spee* was

- a. Falkland Islands
- b. Cabo Este
- c. Rio de la Plata
- d. Montevideo

3. For the following countries, their policy toward the United States is partly determined by the factor given

- a. Brazil sells us her coffee.
- b. Peru markets copper in the United States.
- c. Mexico is adjacent to us.
- d. Argentina's pampa resembles our great plains.

4. The following are fundamental geographical differences between North and South America

- a. The Andes are higher and have fewer passes than the Rockies.
- b. Three fourths of North America is in the temperate zone, while three-fourths of South America is in the tropics.
- c. All of South America lies in a longitude east of Detroit.
- d. South America has better natural harbors than North America.

5. The eastern plains region of South America is similar to the great plains of the United States in that the former also has

- a. Mostly small farms, worked by the farmer and his family
- b. Large production of cattle, wheat and corn
- c. Easy transportation by rail and highway
- d. Relative prosperity

C. Some Generalizations about the Five Chapters. Here are four generalizations, each followed by a group of statements. Some of the statements support the generalization, others do not. Underscore the statements that *do* support the generalization.

1. It is important for the people of the United States to study Latin America.

- a. That area is the chief source of our imports of such war materials as rubber and tin.
- b. Most of their culture comes from Spain and Portugal.
- c. Some of their problems of democracy are similar to ours.
- d. The security of that area is vital to the security of the United States, for instance in Panama.

2. Latin America, like the United States, is a racial "melting pot."

- a. A mestizo is a person of mixed white and Indian blood.
- b. The Spanish and Portuguese often intermarried with the Indians.

- c. Immigration has brought large numbers of Europeans and Asiatics to Latin America.
 - d. There is a large Negro and mulatto population in the tropical section.
 - e. Few North Americans have gone to live in Latin America.
3. Nature has made life difficult for the Latin Americans.
- a. The Andes Mountains obstruct transportation between the Pacific coast and the rest of the continent.
 - b. The great area of tropical jungle has been difficult to develop.
 - c. In the tropical zone, the temperature on the mountain-sides drops one degree for every 300 feet of altitude.
 - d. The Peru Current produces a condition of cool temperature and rare rains.
4. The Maya, Aztec, and Inca civilizations had much to offer their Spanish conquerors.
- a. The Indians knew how to work in metals.
 - b. They were skilled weavers and potters.
 - c. They had their own languages.
 - d. They raised corn, potatoes and beans.

D. In the following statements, the word in *italics* is the **Key** word. If the statement is true, write the letter T in the parentheses. If it is *not* true, write in the parentheses the word (or words) which should be substituted for the key word to make the statement true.

- () 1. The United States *is* the first major power to cultivate relations with Latin America.
- () 2. Latin American civilization is *older* in the new world than that of the United States.
- () 3. Poetry *is* one of the interests of the Latin Americans.
- () 4. For all practical purposes, "South America" and "Latin America" *are* the same thing.
- () 5. The *Mexicans* are so proud of their social revolution that they have erected a monument to it, with the inscription: "To the Revolution—Yesterday, Today, and Forever."
- () 6. The fact that the "bulge" of South America extends so far to the east means that Rio de Janeiro is *closer* to the British and German ports than to New York City.
- () 7. *All* the countries of Latin America have a republican form of government.
- () 8. Brazil is the Latin American country from which the United States imports the most *sugar*.

- () 9. *Chile* is noted for its production of tin.
- () 10. *Bartolomé de las Casas* was the Argentine "General Custer," who drove the Indians off the good land.
- () 11. *Fernández Artucio* is the Uruguayan professor who wrote "The Nazi Underground in South America."
- () 12. *Domingo Sarmiento* was the Negro independence leader of Haiti.
- () 13. The Spanish conquistadors *opposed* the policy of marrying Indian women.
- () 14. More immigrants have gone to Latin America from Japan than from the United States.
- () 15. *Brazil* is the Latin-American country with the highest proportion of Negroes in its population.

E. Some of the following statements deal with facts, while others are opinions. For the statements of fact which are true, encircle the letter T; for those which are false, encircle the letter F. For those opinions which are discussed in the text, encircle OD; for those not discussed, encircle ON.

- T F OD ON 1. Latin-Americans have less race prejudice than do the inhabitants of the United States.
- T F OD ON 2. Brazil favors the amalgamation of all her racial elements.
- T F OD ON 3. The Indians in Latin America have been more exploited than the Negroes.
- T F OD ON 4. Garcilaso de la Vega was a mestizo, a mixture of Spanish and Indian.
- T F OD ON 5. Slaves were freed in Latin America without civil war.
- T F OD ON 6. Argentina's policy of opposing race intermixture is wiser than Brazil's racial policy.
- T F OD ON 7. Mexico is following a policy of emphasizing her Indian heritage.
- T F OD ON 8. There are fewer Indians in Latin America today than in 1650.
- T F OD ON 9. An obstacle to immigration to Latin America is the prevailing system of large estates, occupying the best land.
- T F OD ON 10. Also, if the educational systems were better, more immigrants would come.
- T F OD ON 11. In South America there are more immigrants from Italy than from any other country.

- T F OD ON 12. About half of the refugees from Nazi Europe to the new world have gone to Latin America.
- T F OD ON 13. Although there are more Italians than Germans in Latin America, Germany has been more successful in her propaganda than Italy has.
- T F OD ON 14. The Germans used their embassies and consulates as centers of propaganda.
- T F OD ON 15. The Latin-American governments have combatted Axis propaganda by such means as closing foreign language schools.

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VI. THE COLONIAL PERIOD

With the one exception of the birth of Jesus of Nazareth, the most far-reaching event in history was the discovery of America. The four hundred fiftieth anniversary of the discovery, celebrated October 12, 1942, came at a time when people realized, as never before, the importance of that great event. To this New World people from every section of the globe came to find a new freedom and new opportunity to build democratic institutions. The sudden discovery of an unknown continent gave the Old World the same kind of shock that we would receive today by establishing relations with the planet Mars. Reading the literature of that early day, we find that the amazed Europeans wondered if the laws of nature applied to the New World. Were the two-legged animals found running around naked and smoking a strange kind of weed to be classified as human beings? Did they possess intellects and souls? When fuller knowledge of the New World was gained, the great minds of the Old World began to see visions of liberty and happiness they had long since lost. It was then that the English writer, Sir Thomas Moore, was inspired to write his *Utopia*. The French essay-

ist, Montaigne, who as a boy eagerly read the exciting stories of the Conquest, wrote constantly of the new future assured humanity by America. The effect of the discovery on Spain was especially electric. The ambition of every citizen was to sail to the New World, conquer land for the king, convert heathens for his Church, and amass gold for himself.

The little island, which Columbus called Española,¹ with its capital, Santo Domingo, became the first center, where gathered the explorers and conquistadors. There they planned their expeditions to the mainland. For that reason Santo Domingo proudly calls itself the "Cradle of America." It is the best spot on which to begin a study of the early life of the continent.

The Cradle of America. It was at Santo Domingo that Columbus made his first permanent settlement. Here he spent the happiest period of his life, though he was later enchained by his enemies and sent home in disgrace. To this city his bones were finally returned to rest in the first cathedral erected in the Americas. It was in Santo Domingo that the first white man's colony of the New World and the first university in that

¹ The name *Hispaniola* has been adopted by the United States Geographic Board to apply to this island, now occupied by Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

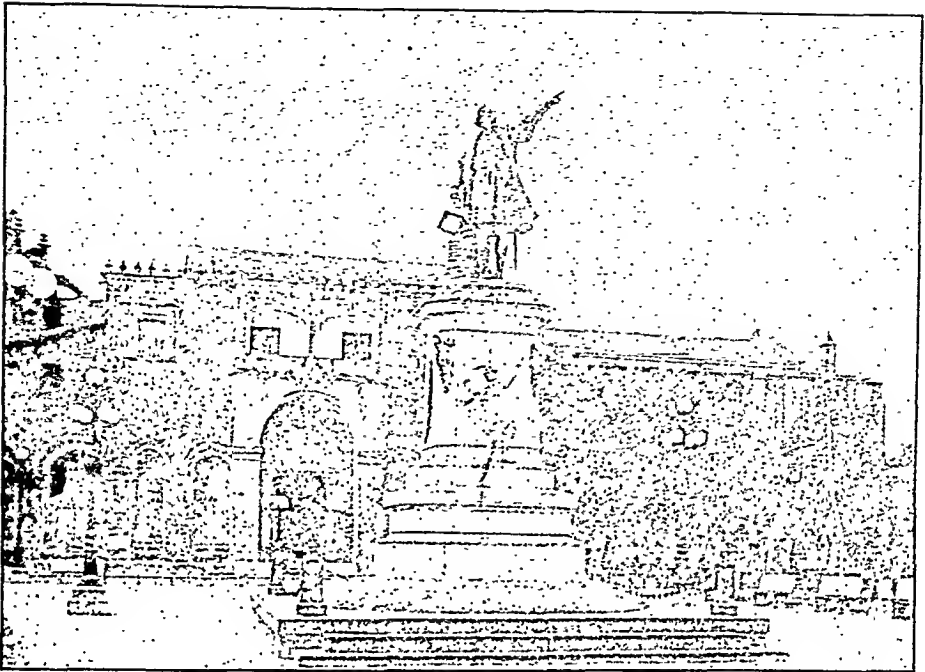


Photo from Ewing Galloway

The Columbus statue stands before the cathedral in Ciudad Trujillo (formerly called Santo Domingo), the capital of the Dominican Republic. The cathedral is one of the oldest buildings in the New World.

world were organized. It was in Santo Domingo that the first Christian sermons were preached, the first printed books sold, and the first blessings, as also the blights, of European civilization were introduced. It was from Santo Domingo that Cortés, a keeper of court records, set out by way of Cuba to conquer Moctezuma and to present to Spain the most marvelous of gifts ever received by any empire. It was in Santo Domingo that the Spaniards first came into contact with primitive America and learned of the further possibilities and problems of conquest which lured Balboa to discover the Pacific, Velásquez to colonize Cuba, Pizarro to conquer the Inca Empire, Ponce de León

to subdue Puerto Rico and to drive his keels to Florida in quest of the Fountain of Youth. There also the noted bishop, Padre de Las Casas, began his far-famed ministry of mercy to the Indians.

The Conquistadors. From the time that America was discovered until the defeat of the Invincible Armada, Spain was the greatest country in Europe. She felt the same exaltation as Greece did after the victory over Persia, or England did in the time of Queen Elizabeth. Her citizens who went to America lived in an exalted mood.

What a race of supermen the conquerors were! The pride of the hidalgo and the rigor of the ascetic,

rigid individualism and loyalty to king; audacity, courage, religious fervor, cruelty, streaks of nobility, with daring and more daring and energy incomparable—these were some of the characteristics of the most astounding type of human being the world has seen, the Spanish conquistador. To him the luxury of the court of a Moctezuma and an Atahualpa was dazzling in the extreme. He was captivated by an incomparable prospect of wealth and fame: "Since the days of the Queen of Sheba, no writer has ever stated that gold, silver, and jewels had ever been discovered in such vast quantities as those which Castile is about to receive from her new colonies," wrote an early chronicler.

Many a Spanish captain, before invading the Indies, had fought in Flanders, pillaged Rome, laid siege to the Moors, and imitated the exploits of Don Quixote. Therefore, barbarous conflict in unknown territory, savage Indians, mysterious forests, unending rivers and deserts had no terrors for the conquistadors.

On to the Continent! Enter now the first and greatest of all the conquistadors, Hernando Cortés. This fiery youth had expected to accompany Don Nicolás de Ovando to Santo Domingo. But that had been prevented by an injury received in an escapade the night before he intended to sail. Time was necessary for him to recuperate. Meanwhile Ovando had sailed away.

The young adventurer found another fleet likewise bound for Santo Domingo. On arriving there, he called immediately on his old friend, the governor. The latter was absent, but his secretary assured Cortés that he

could obtain a liberal grant of land. The reply of young Hernando was indicative of his character and his future: "But I came to get gold," he said, "not to till the soil like a peasant."

Cortés did, however, agree to take a grant of land with a *repartimiento* (an assignment of Indians to work for and be Christianized by a Spanish landlord). Also he was appointed a notary of the town of Azua. For some time he looked after his land, his Indians, and his accounts, continuing an indulgence in those amorous pursuits which he had learned in the sunny climes of Spain. He engaged in military expeditions along with Diego Velásquez, one of Ovando's lieutenants. When the former was appointed to settle the neighboring island of Cuba, Cortés accepted an invitation to accompany him. Though the two men did not agree, Velásquez was so impressed with the bravery of Cortés that he decided to appoint him as the head of an expedition to Mexico.

Cortés Burns His Ships. When Cortés landed in Veracruz, in April, 1519, he received reliable reports concerning the magnificence of the court of Moctezuma. He sent presents to the Aztec emperor and suggested a visit. "Sorry," answered Moctezuma, "but this cannot be permitted." This reply only whetted Don Hernando's appetite for a meal at the emperor's rich table. So he determined on one of the most daring marches in history, up over the snow-capped mountains to the sacred capital of the Aztecs, Tenochtitlán. When some of his men complained, he took the astounding measure of having his ships

burned. Forward was the only way left. His forces consisted of 600 Spaniards, ten bronze cannons, and most formidable of all, sixteen horses. The Indians, who had never seen horses before, were struck with terror by these strange beasts, which they regarded as supernatural. Ever alert to turn every trick, Cortés was able to make allies of the strong Tlascalcan tribe, who were hostile to the Aztecs. Moctezuma, fearing that Cortés might be the white god, Quetzalcoatl, predicted by his forefathers to return some day, gave the Spaniards a doubtful welcome.

Earth has no greater thrill than that which Cortés and his men received on beholding the riches of the Aztec city. They were equally shocked as they witnessed the heathen sacrifice of human beings. Soon there began a series of incredible events, defeats and victories, delights and disappointments, which could take place only among such a combination of dare-devils and saints as were the conquistadors. Moctezuma was captured and held prisoner in his own capital. He was mortally wounded by his own people when they attacked the Spaniards. After many miraculous escapes the invaders were finally driven out of the city on the famous *noche triste*, the "sad night" of June 30, 1520. In endeavoring to escape from the sacred city, which was surrounded and crossed by numerous canals, the Spaniards and their Tlascalcan allies were cut down by the hundreds.

A less resolute leader would have abandoned the whole expedition as hopeless. But not Cortés. He called his men together and made them a notable speech. Passing over the in-

solence and insubordination of many of them, he declared:

I am not unaware of the evils that you describe, but I believe that in all the world there is not such a company of Spanish men, so valiant, so full of hardihood, so enduring of privations. You would have perished long ago if you had not marched with harness on your backs, sword in hand, if you had not kept your watch, scouted for ambuscades, borne heat and cold. But, gentlemen, why should we talk of deeds of valor, when the Lord, our God, is pleased to help us?

By the end of 1520 Cortés began his campaign to retake the city. The Aztecs fought fiercely. At one time they captured fifty Spaniards and sacrificed them in plain view of their comrades. The siege of the city lasted for several months before it finally fell. One of the participants in the recapture of what was to be called Mexico City says of the battle: "It is true and I swear, amen, that all the lake and the houses and the barbicans were full of the bodies and heads of the dead men, and we could not walk except among the bodies and heads of dead Indians." Cortés also had to fight the Aztec tribes outside the city for several years before his power was safely established. Deciding to make this site his capital, he rebuilt the city within four years' time. The Spanish Empire had superseded the Aztec, and the civilization of the white man had occupied another outpost in its long battle for supremacy.

Adventures of Balboa and Pizarro. Returning to Santo Domingo, we find Ojeda, the former governor, preparing an expedition to conquer northern South America in 1513. From among those clamoring for a place in the expedition 300 were

picked. Two applicants we notice especially. One was a tall, evil-eyed fellow, Francisco Pizarro, who had been a swineherd in Spain. In Santo

1500, engaged in a riotous life, and became deeply involved in debt. Balboa's creditors succeeded in preventing his departure, but afterward he



Routes of the conquistadors

Domingo he had been noted for anything but noble deeds. Another was a planter, by name Vasco Núñez de Balboa, a reckless soldier of fortune who arrived in the New World in

was able to join the group by accompanying a relief expedition, hidden in a barrel and put aboard with the cargo. The two leaders, Ojeda and Nicuesa, were soon supplanted and

met tragic deaths. But the escaped debtor pressed on to astound the world by the discovery of the Pacific Ocean, and the former swineherd launched out on that sea to open the new continent of South America to a dazzled Europe.

Pizarro set forth from Panama in December of 1531, with only 180 men, to conquer the great Inca Empire which stretched all the way from Ecuador on the north to the borders of Argentina on the south. This daring undertaking proved to be similar in many ways to that of Cortés. With the same spirit that led the latter to destroy his boats at Veracruz, Pizarro met the demands of the governor of Panama that the expedition return to the Isthmus. In one of the most thrilling scenes in history Pizarro drew a line and challenged all who chose Peru and riches to follow him. All who preferred Panama and poverty could return in the governor's ship. With the faint-hearted eliminated, the expedition moved on to incredible suffering and world-famous victory.

Arriving at Tumbez on the Gulf of Guayaquil the expedition found a remarkable center, with walls, temples, palaces, aqueducts, broad paved streets, and stone buildings. Men and women wore gay colors and all kinds of ornaments made of pure gold. Pizarro, learning that the ruler of the empire, Atahualpa, was encamped about 300 miles to the south of Tumbez, sent Hernando de Soto with a body of men to begin parleys. When Atahualpa was told that Pizarro desired to meet him as "a friend and brother," the Inca sent word that he would pay the Spaniards a visit. Re-

ports concerning these white-bearded strangers who had arrived from the sea, riding unearthly monsters and bearing weapons which belched fire like baby volcanoes, had reached the Inca. He was immensely impressed.

The Inca Empire Falls. The unsuspecting Atahualpa soon suffered the fate dealt out to Moctezuma. Cuzco, the rich capital of the empire, fell before the Spaniards, who then began an orgy of collecting gold. When the plunder was gone, Pizarro founded Lima, the "City of the Kings," to which he moved the capital in 1535. There the great conquistador, like most of his former companions, met death at the hands of his enemies. Lima became the capital of the Spanish possessions in South America. For 200 years it was regarded as one of the important cities of the world. Thus another outpost of European civilization had been planted by daring Spanish adventurers.

From Peru, Pizarro's rival, Almagro, led the way to Chile. Almagro's successor, Valdivia, settled the country and established the capital at Santiago. On the east coast the conquest was much slower. There was no gold to attract the Spaniards. Buenos Aires was first settled in 1536. But its inhabitants withdrew to the then-more-attractive location of Asunción, Paraguay. It was not until 1580 that a group set out to resettle the little village that is today the largest city of all Latin America.

PORTUGUESE BRAZIL

The conquest of Brazil by Portugal was by no means as swift or exciting as that of Spanish America. In the early colonial days Portugal

was more interested in the immense empire she was establishing in the East Indies. Brazil seemed to contain no precious metals. The indigenous inhabitants were small barbarian tribes that were in perpetual war. As a Brazilian historian says, "The whole history of Brazil of the sixteenth century may be contained in a few words." A little later the attempts of France and Holland to occupy Brazil forced a deeper interest on the part of Portugal. The French Huguenots, persecuted at home, founded a colony on an island in the bay of Rio de Janeiro in 1556 and in Maranhão and other coastal points a half century later. They failed, except in the section which is now known as French Guiana, because of the traitorous actions of their leader. The Dutch were more successful in their efforts to establish a Protestant Empire. From 1630 to 1654 the Dutch, with their capital at Recife, on the "bulge" nearest Africa, ruled over a stretch of territory comparable to that dominated by the Portuguese. With the exception of Dutch Guiana, Holland like France was finally expelled by Portugal.

How was it possible for a small country like Portugal to rule such an immense territory as Brazil? One reason is that the Portuguese coordinated their enterprise in Brazil with their African colony in Angola. From there they imported an enormous number of slaves which were an important part of Brazilian economy. The possession of the vast river system centering in the Amazon gave this little navigator nation a great advantage in controlling the vast expanses of Brazil. Toward the south

the rough adventurers, called *bandedeirantes*, around São Paulo took the law in their own hands. By force and cruelty, with none of the restraints imposed on Spanish colonists, they killed off the wild, defenseless Indians and prepared the way for Portuguese dominance.

The Portuguese colonial system was much more simple than the Spanish. Dealing with a few barbarous tribes living in simple conditions, the Portuguese found no such complicated colonial problems as did the Spaniards. Brazilians who lived in the interior were likely to be remote from all authority. The Portuguese were naturally more easy-going than the Spaniards.

The Buccaneers. Not only in Brazil but in the Caribbean and other sections did Holland, France, and England attack the Iberian colonies. The great riches shipped from the New World to the mother countries aroused the jealousy of other countries. The plan adopted by Spain of the "fleet system" gave opportunity for her enemies to attack these ships and get away with the spoils. From thirty to ninety ships would sail together, convoyed by protecting galleons or naval vessels. Thus the rule that colonists could not trade with other nations was enforced. The colonies could trade only with each other by means of this fleet. The outgoing route, when supplies were carried, was from Seville or Cadiz to the ports of Habana, Cartagena, Puerto Bello, and Veracruz. On their return the same route was followed, the fleet carrying precious metals and other exports to Spain. Attacks on the fleet at first were by pirates, not

openly sponsored by their governments. But soon England began to regard such buccaneers with favor. The most famous of these, like Francis Drake and Henry Morgan, were knighted by the English Crown for their attacks on the Spanish. The buccaneers became as famous for their skill and bravery in robbing the Spaniards as had been the conquistadors when they despoiled the Indians. England became as excited over the reports of Hawkins, Drake, and Morgan as had Spain over the reports of Cortés and Pizarro. It was at this time that Great Britain acquired Jamaica and other West Indies islands. France and Holland had an equal number of highly picturesque sea robbers, who captured gold for themselves and islands for their sovereigns. A large romantic literature has grown up around the exploits of gentlemen bandits like Captain Kidd and Captain Blood. The exploits of these "brothers of the sea" did not entirely cease until the nineteenth century.

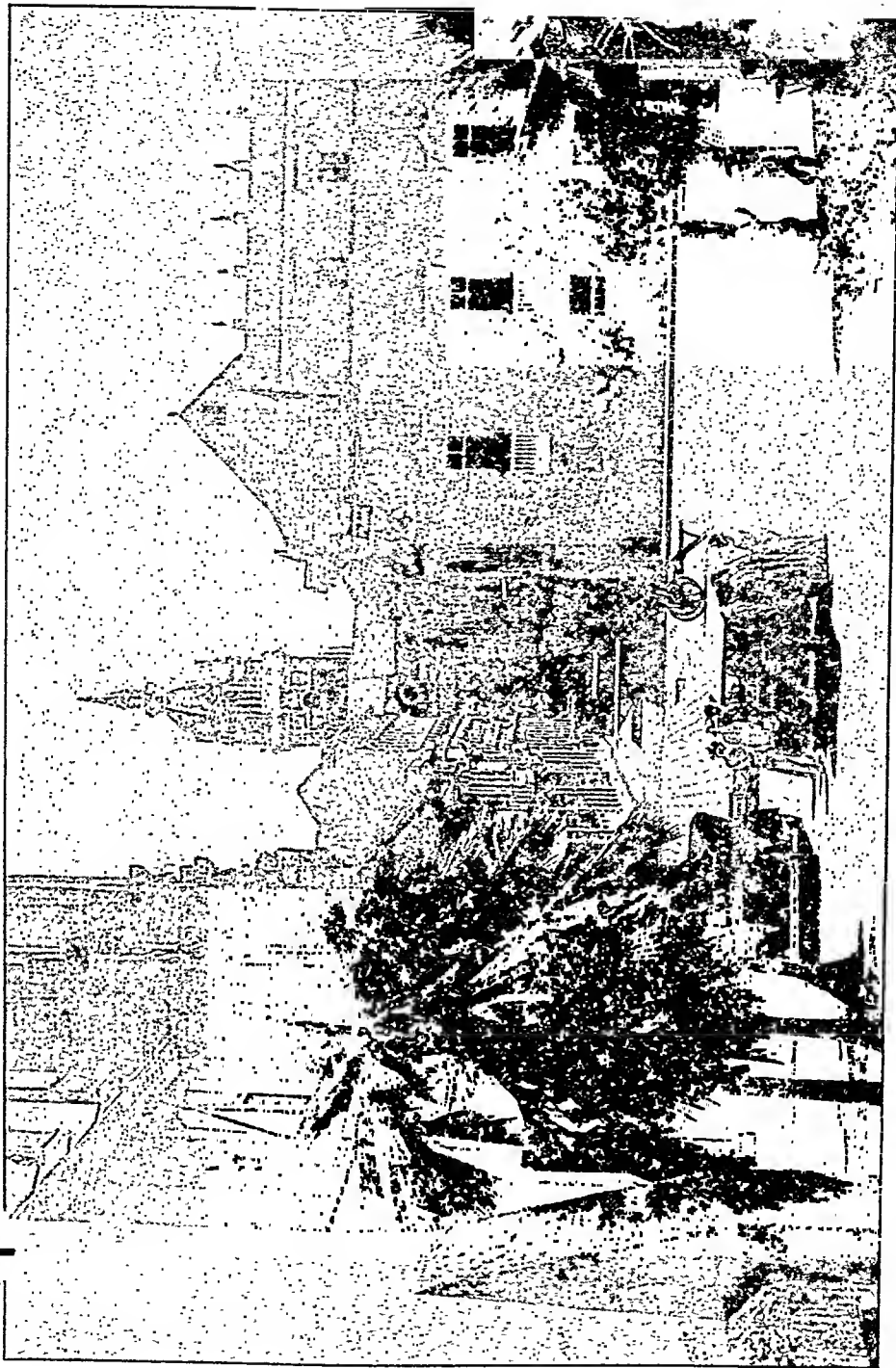
THE SPANISH COLONIAL SYSTEM

When the conquistadors finished their work, Spain found herself in possession of the largest empire of any nation in history. It extended from California in the north to the Strait of Magellan in the south. This meant the flow of great wealth from the colonies to the motherland. It is well to keep in mind, however, the fundamental place religion had in the movement. Enthusiasm for the Church endured the longest and influenced the conquered regions the most widely. Said Columbus: "What I value in this enterprise of the Indies is not reason, mathematics, nor world

maps; I would accomplish the vision of Isaiah.—In all the countries visited by your highnesses' ships," the admiral wrote on his third voyage, "I have caused a high cross to be fixed upon every headland."

The Spaniards were divided into two social classes, according as they had been born in Spain or in the colonies. The former enjoyed the royal favor and monopolized the higher offices in the Church as well. The religious imperialism of Charles V and Philip II was preserved by closing the ports against foreigners and their books, and by instituting the Inquisition to ferret out heresy. The Church was the real governor of the colony. It imposed sentences on viceroy and peons alike. It settled moral and social standards for high and low. It was the guardian of art and learning, the source of festivals, fairs, and processions which furnished healthy diversion for the people.

Church and State. The Church was thoroughly integrated as a part of Spanish character. Religion and the king, Church and state, were completely identified in the minds of the Spanish colonists. The state, however, had a surprising amount of authority in spiritual matters. Much of the narrowness and exclusion of that day were due to the king and not to the Pope. A special arrangement between the two authorities greatly limited the authority of the Holy Father in the American colonies. This agreement was the famous *patronato*, literally translated, "patronage." Among other privileges granted to the king of Spain, as the most faithful son of the Church, were the following: the direct ownership of the



Picture from Philip D. Gendreau
This square in Cartagena, Colombia, one of the first cities built by the Spaniards in South America, shows how the architecture of that day still persists in many cities. The spire of the old cathedral is seen in the distance. The cathedral was built soon after the founding of the city in 1533.

land in the colonies, the nomination of all the higher clergy, the conversion of the Indians, the collection of the tithes which all the faithful must pay, the location and building of churches, and the determination of the boundaries of dioceses. The Pope had to send his official communications to the clergy in America through the king and no representatives of the Pope could go as visitors to the colonies without the approval of the king. The Crown often used its power for political rather than religious purposes. The *patronato* was a continuous cause of controversy between civil and religious authorities, which continued after the colonies had become republics.

The expeditions of the conquistadors were usually undertaken by the adventurers themselves rather than as state-assisted enterprises. Cortés, Pizarro, and the rest were in reality adventurers who came to America at their own risk and who supplied most of their own funds. The period of their activity, however, did not last long. The Spanish Crown, through its own agents, soon began to extend its authority to the lands of the New World. Both Cortés and Pizarro, when at the height of their power, had to give way and were eventually superseded by viceroys sent from Spain.

The age of the conquistadors, however, is not to be regarded as one merely of adventure. Indeed it was an age of creation—new cities, new churches, new universities, even a new race. In the northern part of America the colonists remained of relatively pure blood and ideals. But in the south the mixture of Europeans with Indians and Negroes brought forth a

new people, who produced poets, scholars, clerics, builders, administrators, and brilliant schemers.

Spain early began to colonize. She dispatched many emigrants on the regular line of sailing vessels then established, instructing all concerned in agricultural and commercial methods. A system of stimulating the country districts was inaugurated. Minor authorities were sent throughout the country to develop agriculture, erect forts which would assure safety, construct roads, provide regular means of communication with the capital, and in many ways to build up a social and political order that would guarantee progress.

In time the governments as well as individuals in the various colonies turned their attention from agricultural products to the securing of precious metals. Natives were forced to work the mines, while many regions adapted to agriculture were neglected. Immigration was restricted. The Spanish population was concentrated in cities, and the country divided into great estates granted by the Crown to the families of the conquistadors or to favorites at court.

Colonial Policies. The Spanish colonies were looked upon in the beginning as belonging to the Crown itself and not to the nation at large. This was certainly not democratic. But it meant that the Spanish sovereigns as a rule gave a certain amount of personal attention to colonial matters.

The affairs of the colonies were administered at first by the king and a very small group of his advisers. As the colonies expanded, they were put in charge of a large administrative

body, headed by the Council of the Indies. The council in the beginning limited itself to choosing from the laws of Spain such as would seem to fit the colonies; later it compiled all laws and decrees, and by 1680, a code known as the Laws of the Indies was published. The council also controlled the House of Trade, which had charge of all colonial commerce.

In the colonies themselves the direct representatives of the sovereign were the viceroys and captains-general. It was against these officials and their underlings that native insurrections were at times directed. The last serious uprising was directed by a descendant of the royal line of the Incas, Tupac Amaru. After a considerable struggle, he was seized and burned at the stake in the plaza at Cuzco. As a result of this uprising the Spanish Crown ordered a general investigation concerning conditions in the colonies, following which a system of checks and balances was adopted in order to have some officials watching others.

The first governing bodies in the colonies were local city councils called *cabildos*. These "town meetings" were the nearest to democracy of any of the elaborate government machinery later set up. These local groups had the right to send deputies to Spain. They also, in case of emergency, could summon an open meeting of civil and church authorities and leading citizens to discuss such questions as defense against the Indians. At times they even named a provisional governor. The viceroys, or governors, were the over-all officials. There were two of these in the early years, one in Mexico City and one in Lima. Later

they were also appointed for New Granada and Rio de la Plata. Their courts were rich and crowded with ceremony. Their authority came from the king. They were sometimes challenged by the archbishop. Quarrels between the two dignitaries at times threatened to disrupt the government. As a result a kind of court of appeal called the *audiencia* was established. Composed of distinguished Spanish lawyers, the *audiencia* had wide authority, sometimes even challenging a ruling of the viceroy. Governors were appointed for smaller districts to rule under the viceroy. The code known as the Laws of the Indies guided these officials. But the king was far away. Corruption was easy and was frequently practiced. When a new order from the Crown, called a *cédula*, arrived, the official often kissed it and murmured, "I obey, but I do not execute."

Early Centers of Learning in America. Conventional histories of swash-buckling conquistadors who came from Spain to America seeking only gold and adventure may blind many of us to the fact that with them arrived men of great learning. They were, as a rule, churchmen, who in those days were practically the only torchbearers of knowledge.

Hardly had these clergymen landed when they became instrumental in setting up institutions of learning. The earliest of these were, of course, founded in Hispaniola, the first island to be settled—the island on which today are found the Dominican Republic and Haiti. It was in the monastery of San Francisco de Santo Domingo that the first recorded school was started for sons of the pioneer

leaders. Later on promising sons of more humble parents were admitted. The three "R's" and the Catholic religion constituted the basis of the program of these schools.

Colegios. Then came the *colegios*, which somewhat resembled our own early academies. Active in these *colegios* were the Jesuits, although most of them were supported by the public treasury. The first European teachers in Mexico were Franciscan friars. They paid special attention to teaching the sons of *caciques* (Indian chieftains). Their purpose was to train these youths to serve as missionaries to their own people. A school founded in 1523 by Fray Pedro de Gante, a Franciscan, grew until it enrolled a thousand Indian boys, who learned reading, writing, and arithmetic along with arts and trades and Christian doctrine.

The first viceroy of Mexico, Antonio de Mendoza, in co-operation with Mexico's first archbishop, Juan de Zumárraga, founded the Colegio de Santa Cruz in 1536. There the Indian boys studied Latin, some of the more important native languages, philosophy, and medicine. The teachers were Franciscans.

Universities. Then there came the universities. Their purpose was to serve young men of the upper classes, who formerly had to be sent to Spain for higher training. These universities were extremely important, since much of the intellectual life of the Spanish-American colonies centered around them.

As early as 1538—a century before Harvard College was opened at Cambridge—the first university on the Western Hemisphere, that of Santo

Tomás (St. Thomas) was founded in Santo Domingo. Patronized by both Pope and king, it was a center of learning and missionary zeal for all of Spanish America. Its alumni spread far and wide, to Puerto Rico, Cuba, Mexico, even to Peru, in the same manner that the conquistadors themselves spread fan-wise to parts near and remote throughout America.

Since Santo Tomás did not remain open uninterruptedly, the honors of being the oldest universities in America go to the University of Mexico, at Mexico City, and to the University of San Marcos (St. Marks), at Lima, Peru. Both were founded in the same year, 1551. San Marcos was called into being by royal decree, along with the University of Mexico. These two institutions became famous in all the colonies of Spain as well as in the mother country. In addition to theology the course of study embraced civil and canon law, science, and the aboriginal languages.

Poetic Contests. A unique feature of the intellectual life of colonial Spanish America was the poetry contest. At one of these, held in Mexico in 1585, there were 300 entries. Some of the poems were written in Spanish, some in Latin, and some even in native tongues.

An outstanding literary light among writers of the time was the Mexican dramatist Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza, who attained renown not only in Mexico but also in the mother country. He was the author of twenty-five plays.

Sister Juana. The most remarkable woman of Spanish colonial days was the Mexican nun, known to the world as Sor (Sister) Juana Inés de la Cruz,



Photo from Black Star

Lima is proud of the ancient University of San Marcos, which was founded in 1551, more than fifty years before the first permanent English settlement in North America. The University of Mexico was founded in the same year.

but born as Juana Inés de Asbaje y Ramírez Cantillana. She first saw the light of day under the shadow of the far-famed mountain Popocatepetl, on November 12, 1651. Unbelievable as it may seem, she learned to read at the age of three. One day she followed to class an elder sister, who was taking reading lessons. There, seeing how her sister was learning the mysteries of the printed word, she was fascinated and became fired with the desire to read herself. She told the teacher that she, too, had been sent for reading lessons. It seemed unbelievable. But the teacher decided to humor the child. So three-year-old Juana was given reading lessons and learned remarkably well.

At the "advanced" age of seven she heard that there was a university in Mexico City. She immediately began to beg her mother to dress her as a boy so she could attend the university (Girls were not admitted as students.) Her mother did not give in; so little Juana had to quench her thirst for knowledge by avidly devouring her grandfather's books.

When she was eight years old, Juana started studying Latin. At the same age she composed a poem in praise of the Holy Sacrament. Her desire for knowledge was so great that she later wrote:

Such was the intensity of my thirst, that I cut off several inches of my hair, determined that if I had not learned such and such a thing by the time it had grown to its former length, I would punish myself by cutting it off again. And so it happened, for I had not yet learned what I had proposed, and I cut my hair again in punishment for my stupidity, because it seemed to me that a head so bare of learning should not be adorned by hair.

Not to be sidetracked in her desire to attend the university, Juana finally persuaded the viceroy, whose wife she had attended at court, to give her a test. She was then only in her seventeenth year, yet she was unafraid as she faced forty men—professors and other scholars—among whom were some of the most outstanding philosophers, theologians, and poets of the country. Each hurled at her questions in his own special field. Young Juana made such a good showing that the viceroy was later moved to compare the scene with a battle in which a royal galleon defends itself against the attack of a host of small boats.

Juana had not only an unusually brilliant mind; she also possessed outstanding beauty. As one writer aptly said, "She was tormented for her wit and pursued for her beauty." After a love affair, of which not much is known, she foreswore the outer world and entered the Convent of San Gerónimo. Her nun's cell was soon converted into a busy study. At one time she had as many as 4,000 books in it. This caused her superiors no end of worry, and at last she decided to sell them. Soon thereafter, at the age of forty-six, she died in an epidemic, but not before having established herself as "Mexico's Tenth Muse." She left behind a large collection of inspiring poems.

Limitations of the System. The Spanish colonial system was the most elaborate ever developed. It was devised to aid the Indians as well as the colonists. Naturally the practical administration of such a complicated system across distant seas gave opportunity for many abuses. The two greatest objections to the system had

to do with finance and free thought. Financially, the colonies were run for the benefit of the Crown. One fifth of all the production of the mines and pearl fisheries had to be set aside for the king. The colonies could trade with only one city in Spain. They could not even trade among themselves or with any but the single designated Spanish city. Buenos Aires, for example, must ship its exports over the Andes to Lima, then up to Panama City, and across the Isthmus, where the cargo had to wait for the semiannual convoy which carried the goods to Seville. A House of Trade was located in Seville to supervise this complicated system. This encouraged dissatisfaction, graft, sabotage, and smuggling. One authority estimated that half of the goods coming to the colony entered illegally.

Spain also endeavored to keep the minds of her colonists from trading with the outside world. Visitors and books from other countries were strictly forbidden. Even the Pope himself had to send his orders through the Spanish Crown. Not only was religious heresy forbidden, but political heresy was just as rigorously excluded. The famous universities of Spanish America limited their teachings to subjects that were entirely in accordance with the teaching of the official church. High offices were reserved for Spaniards born in Spain; their children born in America, who might be less orthodox in thought, were not allowed to hold office. From these two restrictions rose most of the dissatisfaction felt by the Spanish colonists.

Later Reforms. Following the exalted events of the conquest and

organization in the sixteenth century, colonial life sank to a much duller existence in the seventeenth century. In 1700, Philip V came to the throne. He had new ideas. Under his rule France and England were given permission to trade with colonial ports. The ports of call of Spanish ships were no longer limited to Seville and Cadiz. Another king, Charles III (1759-1788), even allowed the colonists to do restricted trading among themselves. Business picked up. New cities were founded, and new mines were opened. But, alas for the Spanish court! new intellectual currents also began to make themselves felt in the Spanish-American colonies. Medievalism was definitely coming to an end. Long works abounding in glowing descriptions of the world to come began to give way to writings which showed concern rather for man's condition here on earth.

After the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish America in 1767, the religious orders which had been allowed to remain gradually lost their original militant zeal. Instead of keeping up with the progress being made at that time in scientific investigations and other realms of worldly knowledge, they fell behind and in some instances even opposed the introduction of such knowledge into the Spanish colonies. As a result they lost much of their former influence, as intellectuals began to gather around certain leaders who opened the way to the new ideas.

Outstanding among these was Antonio Nariño, a native of Bogotá, who was a student of philosophy, jurisprudence, and modern languages. He had a large library of books imported

from Europe, and the studious young men of Bogotá gathered about him. Nariño adopted many of the progressive ideas emanating at that time from Europe and from the British colonies in America, which were just then forming into the United States of America. He was arrested for printing a Spanish translation of Paine's *The Rights of Man* and taken as a prisoner to be sent to Africa. However, he escaped at Cadiz and visited several European centers before returning to his native city. There he was again arrested and kept in prison until set free by the Revolution of 1810.

Nariño was just one of a number of far-seeing leaders of thought who were keenly aware of the new trends and saw the need for changing the functions of the universities to meet new conditions. They gathered around them groups of young men who, beginning as disciples of freedom in things intellectual, soon identified themselves likewise with the ideal of political freedom. Consciously or unconsciously, they were sowing seeds that were to yield a significant harvest in the years immediately to follow. They were building that intellectual background which was to be the foundation and main-spring in the struggle about to be undertaken by the Spanish colonies in America against the mother country.

SPANISH AND ENGLISH COLONIES COMPARED

The differences between conditions in Spanish and English colonial life are important for those who would understand the problems of inter-

American co-operation today. President Julio Roca of Argentina stated the situation as follows:

The genii that surrounded the cradle of Washington were not the same as presided at the advent of the South American democracies. The proud conquerors of iron mail who trod this part of America with rare notions of liberty and right, with absolute faith in the effect of brute force and violence, were very different from those Puritans who disembarked at Plymouth with no arms, but the Gospel, no other ambition than that of founding a new community under the law of love and equality. Hence the Latin republics stand in need of a greater amount of perseverance, judgment, and energy to work out their original sin and to assume those virtues which they did not inherit.

The Indians themselves had greatly varying traits. In the North they were wandering tribes and could not possibly have been converted into serfs to work for the white man. This meant small farms, which were a great contribution to self-government. In the South there developed great agricultural communities. As they took over the land, the Spaniards quite naturally took over the Indians as serfs. Thus were begun the great landed estates which have continued until today to be the great economic curse of Latin America.

Democracy in England began with the Magna Carta in 1215 and developed continuously among the English colonists. Roger Williams, by his protests, advanced separation of church and state, while the *patronato* in the South held the two rigidly together. Scarcity of labor in the North gave workingmen a freedom unknown in the South. Many political parties and religious faiths in the North led to

much debate and freedom of speech. In the South learning, literature, architecture, and educational institutions were advanced by a unified church and state. The colonial period in the North began a century later and closed a half century earlier than the one in Spanish America. This meant that reverence for overseas

authority and other mind-sets developed in the colonies were not nearly so fixed in the North as in the South.

As we turn to the struggle of the Southern colonies for independence, we shall find that, in spite of numerous differences, they were at one in their passion for liberty and in their sacrifices to attain democracy.

TEST YOURSELF!

A. Whose Names Are These? The characters listed below were important in the colonial period of Latin America. For each statement, write in parentheses the letter of the name which matches it. (Notice that there are more names than statements.)

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| a. Sor Juana Inés | f. Balboa |
| b. Hernando Cortés | g. Fray Pedro de Gante |
| c. Archbishop Zumárraga | h. Ponce de León |
| d. Francisco Pizarro | i. Philip V |
| e. Antonio Nariño | j. Hernando de Soto |

- () 1. Explored Panama and discovered the Pacific Ocean
- () 2. One of Pizarro's officers, who later discovered the Mississippi River
- () 3. Founded a *colegio* in Mexico City where Indian boys could study advanced subjects, such as medicine
- () 4. The former Spanish swineherd who conquered the Inca Empire
- () 5. The Mexican poet who, at the age of 17, successfully faced an examination by 40 professors
- () 6. The Spanish administrator who first opened his colonies to foreign trade
- () 7. A teacher in Bogotá who was imprisoned for printing a translation of Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man*
- () 8. The Spanish conqueror of the Aztec Empire

Note: This is a good time to choose your Course Essay topic, mentioned in the instructions on "How to Use This Book." You should not delay your choice of topic, since the essay should be finished before you take your End-of-Course Test.

B. What Was the Time-Order of Important Events of This Period? The events in the left-hand column are in proper time-order. The blank spaces are to be filled in with events chosen from the right-hand column. In each blank, write the letter of the proper event from the right-hand column. (*Note:* Some of the correct choices can be made by thinking of their logical order, without knowing the exact order from memory.)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Cortés conquered Mexico. | a. The first settlement was made in Santo Domingo. |
| 2. _____ | b. Fray Pedro de Gante founded a school for Indians in Mexico. |
| 3. _____ | c. The Jesuits were expelled from the colonies. |
| 4. The Pilgrims settled Plymouth. | d. Antonio Nariño was imprisoned. |
| 5. _____ | e. Harvard University was founded. |
| 6. Sor Juana Inés died. | f. University of San Marcos in Lima was founded. |
| 7. _____ | |
| 8. English colonies declared their independence. | |
| 9. _____ | |
| 10. Revolution broke out in Bogotá. | |

C. What Were the Important Developments in Latin America during the Colonial Period? For each of the following generalizations there are four facts which supposedly support the statement. One of them does *not* support it; select that fact and encircle its letter.

1. The colonial systems of Spain and England were very different.
 - a. Religious freedom was the rule in England's colonies.
 - b. The Spanish colonies usually had large estates, worked by Indian serfs.
 - c. The Spanish government made laws for the control of the colonies' trade.
 - d. The English colonies had their own legislatures.
2. The Spanish colonial system was designed to benefit Spain, rather than the colonies.
 - a. The king sent craftsmen to build roads, forts, and churches.
 - b. Colonial trade was limited to one city in Spain.
 - c. The colonies were not allowed to trade with each other.
 - d. Freedom of political thought was discouraged.
3. The Spanish king and the Catholic Church worked in harmony in the colonies.
 - a. Education was almost entirely in the hands of the Church.
 - b. The king forced the Jesuits to leave the colonies in the eighteenth century.
 - c. The king could nominate all the higher clergy.
 - d. The two co-operated in suppressing freedom of thought.
4. The Spanish and Portuguese faced foreign competition from other powers in their colonizing efforts.
 - a. French Huguenots founded a colony near Rio de Janeiro, but were expelled by the Portuguese.
 - b. Francis Drake was knighted for his voyages.
 - c. Dutch Protestants failed to keep their colonies in Brazil.
 - d. English buccaneers frequently attacked Spanish treasure ships.

D. Correspondence or Class Assignments. (See general instructions under this heading, p. viii.)

1. Many of the differences between Anglo-America and Latin America are due to conditions in the colonial period. Compare the two colonial periods touching upon each of three of the following: (a) purposes of the colonists; (b) treatment of the Indians; (c) political control by the mother country; (d) freedom of trade; (e) system of landholding; (f) and religious liberty.

2. Discuss two or more reasons for this statement: "With the one exception of the birth of Jesus of Nazareth, the most far-reaching event in history was the discovery of America."

E. Suggestions for Extra Reading

Goetz and Fry, *The Good Neighbors*. Ch. 3, 4.

Stewart and Peterson, *Builders of Latin America*. Ch. 1-6.

Williams, M. W., *People and Politics of Latin America*. Ch. 4-12.

VII. MOVEMENT FOR INDEPENDENCE

Liberal ideas saturated the European and American atmosphere during the latter part of the eighteenth century. In Europe writers like Rousseau, Voltaire, and John Locke had convinced the people that every individual had his own rights which could not be denied him by government. In Boston the English colonists were dumping tea into the sea because they would not suffer taxation without representation.

Reforms Are Demanded. In South America and Mexico the same kind of protests were taking place. In 1771 the revolt of the *comuneros* in Colombia and Paraguay happened for the same reason as the Boston Tea Party. Both were in protest against unjust taxes and other abuses of the home government. The inhabitants rushed the government offices and seized control. They organized municipal councils, called *comunes* after the French revolutionary bodies. They were so successful that they declared the independence of the whole colony and proclaimed a republic. Led by middle-class colonists, a number of Indians joined this movement. The clergy believed they should act as

mediators. The colonial authorities promised reforms. The rebels laid down their arms. Soon the government received military re-inforcements and broke the promises.

The Indians in Peru knew nothing of the French and the North American revolutions. But tradition had kept alive stories of the glory of the Inca Empire. A group revolted in 1781 against their employers on the big farms and the way in which they were forced to buy goods from the Spaniards.¹ After years of endeavor to secure a correction of some of these conditions, the heir of the Inca throne, Tupac Amaru, raised an army and fell on some of the large landowners in Upper Peru. The revolt was unsuccessful and he and his family were captured and executed. Revolts took place in various sections. Although they were generally unsuccessful, they secured some reforms. They also taught the people that they had power. A few months before the movement for the independence of Mexico started, a petition was addressed to the king of Spain describing the state of unrest in the colony. It went on record as follows:

¹ General Miller, an Englishman, who aided in the Independence movement, tells the story of a consignment of eyeglasses sent to the merchants of Lima. When these could not be sold, the local governor aided the merchants by issuing an order that no Indian should attend mass during certain festivals unless he wore spectacles.

This large body of inhabitants is without any property and most of them are without shelter; the people are really in an abject and miserable state, without settled habits and morality. What would be the result if these rival classes, these opposing and conflicting interests and passions, were arrayed one against the other in revolution?

It is no wonder that reforms were demanded. Conditions in Spanish America had grown worse and worse. A Chilean historian tells about the poverty and the miserable condition of the people. A few rode about in costly carriages and showed themselves at balls bedecked with gorgeous jewels. The common people lived in misery and some, in desperation, were driven to drink. In the country even the wealthy families enjoyed few comforts.

The only people in Spanish America who were satisfied with colonial conditions were the Spanish officials, the upper clergy, and the big landowners. Even the sons of a viceroy, if born in America, were not allowed to hold office. If one had any liberal tendencies, he did not like the prohibition of reading liberal books or the likelihood of being accused of heresy by the Inquisition (court established by the Church). If he was a merchant, he was disgusted with unjust taxes and the denial to engage in any business that a Spaniard desired to reserve for his own people. Life on the large estates was patriarchal if not outright feudal in character. Added to the spirit of liberty which mysteriously spread itself over America and Europe in the last quarter of the eighteenth century was the feeling of discontent in Spanish America because of numerous abuses of power exerted

by the Spaniards and the neglect of colonial rights on the part of the Spanish Crown. But Spanish colonists had much affection for the motherland. Something very unusual was necessary to arouse in them a desire strong enough to make them change completely their political system and their pattern of social life. Several things happened to encourage action for independence.

American Union Club of London. When the uprisings of the common people and the Indians were suppressed by the Spaniards, the intellectual classes took up the work of independence. In those days the leading families of South America sent their sons to Europe for education. As a part of their schooling they visited different capitals, especially Madrid, Paris, and London. In the British capital a remarkable organization, the Grand American Union Club, was established by the "Forerunner of the Revolution," Francisco Miranda. This stirring figure was born in Venezuela in 1756. He became a valiant knight of freedom, lending his keen sword to every group struggle against tyranny. Beginning his military career in the Spanish army when he was sixteen, he had a varied and dramatic career. He fought in the American Revolution, became an officer in the army of the French Republic, and traveled extensively in Austria, Italy, Turkey, Sweden, and Russia, always well received, always advocating liberty, always writing pamphlets on the subject. In 1805 he visited the United States to tell President Jefferson and Secretary of State Madison about his plans for a revolution in South Amer-

ica. With 200 adventurous souls he sailed from New York in 1806 to deliver Venezuela from the Spaniards. His expedition failed to arouse the people of his native land, and he returned to England and his revolutionary club.

How interesting must have been the discussions of world politics in the Union Club! Well-known English liberals like Wilberforce, the anti-slavery advocate, Jeremy Bentham, the philosopher, and Joseph Lancaster, the educator (who later founded schools in South America), were members. The most important participants were the young South Americans who were later to lead in the actual fight for liberty—the fiery leader Simón Bolívar, the brilliant writer Andrés Bello of Venezuela, the solemn José de San Martín of Argentina, the dashing Bernardo O'Higgins of Chile, and the Colombian publisher Nariño. These and others discussed the principles of liberty with the British and made practical plans among themselves for setting their people free.

Napoleon Starts a Revolution in America. It was Napoleon Bonaparte who really started Miranda and other leaders into an active movement for independence. Otherwise, this movement might have been delayed for several years before plans were ready to be put into practice. Napoleon invaded Spain in 1808 and tricked Ferdinand VII into letting him put the emperor's brother, Joseph, on the throne. Spain was furious. Local *juntas*, or committees, were formed in every section of the country to govern until Ferdinand was restored to the throne. The colonies in Amer-

ica did the same, although most of the *juntas* in the colonies secretly hoped that this would result in permanent independence from the mother country.

Let us follow the story of Miranda's country, Venezuela, to see how the independence movement developed. One hot day in July, 1808, a bright young schoolteacher and writer by the name of Andrés Bello received a call from the Spanish governor to come to his office. The job given young Andrés was the translation of a marked article in the *London Times*, which had been sent to the Spanish official by the governor of the neighboring English island of Trinidad. There was no particular hurry about the job, it seemed. But two days later, when beginning the translation, Bello found himself deciphering the most important news of the century. He ran breathlessly to the government house and read hastily to the governor the astounding news of Napoleon's invasion of Spain and his plans to control her American colonies. It was only a few days after this that a French delegation arrived in Caracas demanding obedience to the new king, Joseph.

Rebellion was inevitable. A popular junta to govern Venezuela was established on April 19, 1810. One of its first acts was to appoint a commission of three to go to London to see whether aid could be secured from England in resisting Napoleon. Since England was at the time an ally of Spain, the commission was instructed to declare its loyalty to King Ferdinand and to keep away from the revolutionary firebrand, Francisco Miranda.



Bettman Archive

Bernardo O'Higgins served under San Martín in the liberation of Chile. His loyalty and energy were an important factor in the success of the campaign, especially in the decisive victories of Chacabuco, where O'Higgins's cavalry charge carried the day, and of Maipú. After the battle of Chacabuco O'Higgins became the head of the first permanent national government of Chile.

LEADERS OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE NORTH

The chairman of the commission sent to deal with the British was Luis López Méndez. He was not brilliant, but he was educated and had had considerable experience in public affairs. The other two members of the commission, Bello and Bolívar, were young men under thirty. Bello was serious-minded. At the age of eleven he had begun to write plays and poems. He taught himself English, on the chance that he might need it some day. This chance came when the memorable edition of the *London Times* was put into his hands. Since he became one of the great authors of Latin America, we shall tell the story of his life in the section on literature. Remaining in London for many years, he learned much about democracy from the English people. The last years of Bello's life were spent in Chile, where he was adviser to the government and a leader in education.

Bolívar. The leader of the group was the restless young Simón Bolívar. Only twenty-eight years of age, he had already been twice to Europe and had visited Mexico and the United States. He was born under fortune's smile, on July 24, 1783, in Caracas, Venezuela. His parents were rich and highly regarded members of society. On the day of his baptism he received a large farm, the rent of which would bring him 20,000 pesos a year. His father, a judge and colonel in the army, died when Simón was three years old. Six years later his mother passed away. He liked military exercises better than study. At fourteen

he was a lieutenant in the regiment in which his father had served.

When it came time for the young man to go to Madrid to finish his education, he was accompanied by his tutor, Simón Rodríguez. This strange man, who loved solitude and philosophy, had a lifelong influence on his pupil. On his way to Europe, the boat stopped at Veracruz. Bolívar took the opportunity to go to Mexico City, where he was received by the Spanish viceroy. But the young visitor expressed such warm approval of an uprising against government abuses that the viceroy advised that Bolívar be sent on to Spain immediately. "He has more of the exalted than the discreet," said the Mexican official. The dashing Bolívar was well received in Madrid. One day he was playing shuttle-cock with the future king, Ferdinand. When Bolívar accidentally struck the young prince with his racket, Ferdinand became angry and started to leave the field. But the queen compelled him to show his sportsmanship by playing out the game. Years later Bolívar wrote: "Who could have told Ferdinand VII that this accident was the prophecy that I would some day snatch from him the most precious jewel in his crown?"

Two years later, at the age of nineteen, Bolívar married the lovely María Teresa Rodríguez, daughter of the famous de Toro family of Madrid. The young couple, with high hopes, returned to Caracas and started house-keeping on the family estate. Bolívar settled down to enjoy the life of a country gentleman. However, Fate decreed differently. In a few months the fair María Teresa died during an

epidemic of fever. Heartsick he set off again to Europe with his tutor, Rodríguez. They went to Paris, where Bolívar tried to drown his sorrow in drink and high society. He was invited to attend the coronation of Napoleon. Completely disgusted with that democrat turned royalist, Bolívar and his teacher left Paris, never to return. After a long walking trip the young idealist found himself on top of the hill of Aventino. As he looked down on the city of Rome, with its reminders of ancient glory, he stood erect, removed his hat, and in the presence of his teacher pronounced these words: "I swear before you and before the God of my fathers; I swear by my honor and by my native land, that I will give no rest to my arm or repose to my soul until I have broken the chains that oppress us through the will of Spain."

The young man had found himself! He returned to Venezuela by way of the United States, where he gathered fresh inspiration for his proposed work. Back in Caracas he organized his friends and awaited the day to strike. Napoleon's invasion of Spain was the signal.

With what impatience the three men chosen for the London mission paced the decks of the steamer *Wellington*, on which they slowly made their way to England! A hundred times they rehearsed their plans to win the British. But the job was harder than they thought. López Méndez and Bello settled down to the slow job of convincing the English officials. Not so Bolívar. In spite of contrary instructions, he looked up Miranda and his American Union Club in London.

Soon the old leader and the young enthusiast agreed that it was time to act. Miranda and Bolívar set out for their native land. By July 5, 1811, they had persuaded Venezuela to declare its independence from Spain. Soon a Spanish force under Monteverde attacked the patriots. On Holy Thursday, 1812, a terrific earthquake in Caracas killed 20,000 people and upset the whole nation. The claim of the clergy that this was divine punishment for rebellion against Spain aided in the defeat of the patriots. Miranda, as commander of the army, was accused by Bolívar and other young officers of having sold out to the Spaniards and of plotting to get away from the country with large funds. They arrested the old war horse at midnight and turned him over to the Spaniards. He never recovered his liberty. After years of suffering in dungeons in Puerto Rico and Spain he died, July 14, 1816, and was buried in a common grave. His sad end seems to have been a prediction of the tragic deaths that were to overtake practically every one of the liberal leaders. Whether or not Bolívar and his associates were justified in their action still remains a disputed point among historians.

Bolívar then made his way to Colombia, and offered his services to that country. He was allowed to head the troops that he organized, amounting to a few hundred only. With these he started toward Venezuela again to attack the Spaniards. From December 15, 1812, to December 17, 1819, he fought the foe, up and down Venezuela and Colombia. During the seven years of war he and his men suffered every kind of defeat and dis-

couragement. In 1816 he was driven completely out of South America and took refuge in Jamaica. In that dark hour, with would-be assassins dogging his path, most men would have given up the battle. But not Bolívar. While he was waiting for the tide to turn, he studied his problem. He wrote a remarkable letter to an English gentleman in which he prophesied almost exactly the course that each section of Spanish America would take. Aided by the generous president of the Negro Republic of Haiti, the Liberator returned to the attack in Venezuela. He now carried on his campaign in the back country near the Orinoco River. Here he trained his men, unbeknown even to his officers, for the most daring adventure of all—the march over the Andes. In this he was aided by newly arrived recruits from the British Foreign Legion.

The plainsmen knew nothing of life in the cold, lofty peaks of the Andes. Bolívar was everywhere at once, urging the men on higher and higher, through snow, over cliffs, until, three miles above the sea, they looked down on the green valley of Colombia. It must have seemed to them paradise itself. Two thirds of the army had perished and the survivors were only skin and bones. But after a few days' rest, they fell on the astounded Spaniards at Boyacá and drove them to the sea. Bolívar and his men entered Bogotá in triumph.

The union of Venezuela, Colombia, and the southern province of Quito (modern Ecuador) was decreed; it was called Great Colombia, or Grand Colombia. A great victory at Carabobo, June 24, 1821—unfortunately with the

loss of the flower of the British legion—gave Bolívar the opportunity to move South. A constitutional convention at Cúcuta, Venezuela, elected Bolívar president, and General Santander vice-president. Bolívar protested that he was a soldier and had no desire for office. He accepted, however, on condition that Santander should assume the entire responsibility for government. At the same time he selected a cabinet and named ambassadors to Peru, Chile, and Buenos Aires. They were instructed to invite those governments to a Congress that was to be held later at Panama for the consideration of a united America.

Filled with enthusiasm, Bolívar set out on his venture toward the South. His bravest and ablest commander, General Sucre, had gone on before and whipped the Spanish army on the side of the picturesque volcano, Pichincha, near Quito. To make sure of the loyalty of the whole country, the Liberator pushed on to the port city of Guayaquil. Here the most famous incident of the whole South American struggle for liberty took place. Bolívar met the great leader of the Southern armies, General San Martín of Argentina. Before we recount the meeting of these two leaders, we must describe the development of the independence movement in the South.

THE SOUTHERN MOVEMENT

Argentina led the southern movement for independence. The first struggle, strangely enough, was not against Spain but against England. In 1806, two years before Napoleon invaded Spain, a British expedition,

coming from South Africa under the command of Sir Home Popham, captured Buenos Aires. The astonished citizens, abandoned by the frightened viceroy, secretly prepared their defense. In six weeks they turned the tables and defeated the English invaders. A year later General Whitelock, with a well-equipped army of 8,000 British, returned to attack. Again the English were beaten. The citizens of Buenos Aires were surprised and delighted with their power. These initial victories gave them a confidence in themselves which they have never lost. The open trade with Britain initiated at that time has also been continuous.

When Buenos Aires heard that the Central Junta in Spain which defended King Ferdinand was weakening, it decided, May 25, 1810, to establish its own junta and run its own affairs. This date is usually celebrated today as Argentine Independence Day, although six years were to pass before complete independence was declared on July 9, 1816. The leaders in Buenos Aires soon realized that setting up a local junta meant war against the royalist stronghold in Montevideo and in Lima. Their first move was to send the Argentine general, Belgrano, to Paraguay to ask that country to unite with them against the Spaniards. Paraguay, already under the sway of the famous Dr. Francia, accepted independence but declined union with Buenos Aires. After four years of fighting, Montevideo was captured from the Spanish. Belgrano at first was victorious in his campaign against the troops of the Peruvian viceroy in Upper Peru, the region now known

as Bolivia. But later he was defeated. For years the two armies fought back and forth without any definite decision resulting.

San Martín. The stalemate of the war between Argentina and Peru was critically evaluated by the man who was to prove himself Argentina's greatest leader, General José de San Martín. Let us look at this man who shares with Simón Bolívar the honor of freeing South America from Spanish rule. He was born in 1778, five years before Bolívar, in one of the old Paraguayan missions where his father served as commander of the Spanish garrison. The family soon returned to Spain. At the early age of eleven he entered the royal army. He became a member of one of the secret societies organized by Miranda to promote South American independence. In 1812, when the newly born Argentina was defending itself against Spanish aggression, San Martín landed in Buenos Aires to offer his sword to his native land. As already indicated, his military eye quickly saw that the war was not a local but a continental struggle. To assure the liberation of the Rio de la Plata, the Spaniards must be driven from their stronghold in Peru. The way to do that was first to free Chile, and then with her aid to attack Lima.

When San Martín asked to be stationed in the out-of-the-way town of Mendoza at the foot of the Andes, people could not understand the reason. Here this keen, experienced soldier began his quiet preparations for a far-reaching campaign. He trained his officers and men thoroughly, and manufactured his own equipment. At the beginning of 1817



Photo from Black Star

San Martín is the most beloved Argentine and ranks with Bolívar as a great liberator of South America. He showed his military genius and love of independence by freeing Chile and Peru as well as his own country.

San Martín was ready for his great venture. Besides his own well-trained, loyal Argentines he counted on a number of Chileans, including the intrepid General O'Higgins. The passage of the Andes by San Martín, with his 5,000 soldiers, is reputed to be a greater feat than the crossing of the Alps by Napoleon. Carefully concealing his movements, he fell on the surprised royalists at Chacabuco and gave them a sound beating. The people of Buenos Aires and Santiago went wild with joy when they heard the news. Each of the two governments voted him high honors and sums of money. All this he refused, except when it could be used for the people. The second victory over the Spaniards was won at Maipú, April 5, 1818.

San Martín then made a journey across the mountains to Buenos Aires to consult the government about his desire to lead an expedition to Peru. With difficulty did he secure such permission. Before he could start north, Argentine authorities became greatly frightened at rumors of a huge Spanish army sailing to attack America. San Martín was ordered to bring his army home. He refused. His generals, who according to Argentine military law had much authority, backed their leader in his decision. One of the greatest naval fighters of the day, Lord Cochrane, an Englishman, appeared on the scene and carried, in ten transports, the Argentine-Chilean army of 5,000 to Pisco, near Lima. Cochrane won a victory over the Spanish navy at Callao. Excitement in South America ran as high as it did twelve decades later in North America, when United States

forces landed in Africa in the second World War.

San Martín, hampered by illness, hesitated to attack the larger enemy force in Lima. This led to quarrels between him, Cochrane, and some of the generals. San Martín waited for the Spanish army to move out of Lima. This it did on July 28, 1821, and the liberating army entered Lima. The independence of Peru was proclaimed by an immense crowd in the great central plaza. It was a wonderful day. San Martín wrote to his friend O'Higgins: "Peru is free. I now see before me the end of my public life and watch how I can leave this heavy charge in safe hands so that I may return to some quiet corner and live as a man should live."

A threatening army of Spanish veterans were still encamped at striking distance. With a small force and with unfortunate divisions in the ranks, San Martín concluded that the only way to strike the mortal blow was to secure the aid of the army of patriots resting temporarily at Guayaquil. So off he went to see Bolívar.

Famous Interview at Guayaquil. Seldom in history has the meeting of two great men attracted so much attention as the interview between the dashing Liberator of the North and the serious military leader of the South. Both of them came as heroes. But their characters were as different as the noonday sun and the threatening roar of thunder. Bolívar loved pomp. He was delighted at the gorgeous reception prepared for him and San Martín by the army, the citizens, and the distinguished women of Guayaquil. As for the Argentine general, very much at home on the battlefield,

he was ill at ease at a reception. When a beautiful young girl placed on his head a laurel wreath of pure gold, he blushed and removed the wreath, saying that he would keep it because of the patriotic sentiments it represented. Long after San Martín had retired from the brilliant ball that night, Bolívar was at the height of enjoyment, dancing with the elegant ladies of Guayaquil.

The discussion of the important problems facing South America was, as previously agreed, between the two generals only, with no one else present. What they said has been debated for a century. The results, however, make it fairly clear. There were evidently three important questions: How could the victory over the Spaniards be accomplished? Should the province of Quito be attached to Colombia or to Peru? What kind of government should these independent nations now establish, monarchy or republic?

The first question demanded an immediate answer. The royalists still had a strong army of veterans in Peru. No part of South America was safe until this force was conquered. San Martín offered to serve under Bolívar if the Liberator would bring his troops to Peru for a joint campaign. But Bolívar found excuses and declined to accept the honor. As for the province of Quito, Bolívar insisted that it already was a part of Colombia. In regard to the kind of government the colonists should choose, Bolívar favored the republic, with a lifetime presidency. San Martín believed that "it is not necessary to give the new nations the best laws, but those adapted to their character and their

education." He was definitely in favor of monarchy and wanted to invite European princes to rule the different American nations.

The two men, fundamentally different in character and in reasoning, found agreement impossible. Only one meeting was necessary to show this to San Martín, and he ordered his baggage packed and his ship made ready to carry him back to Lima. A closing banquet to the two generals was given on the afternoon of July 27 by the attentive citizens of Guayaquil. Bolívar arose and proposed a toast: "To the two greatest men of South America, General San Martín and myself." San Martín replied by a toast: "To the speedy conclusion of the war! To the reorganization of the new republics of the continent, and to the health of the Liberator!"

The failure of these two great men to agree was a prophecy of the divisions that were to continue after the winning of independence. The same lack of unity appeared between Washington and his generals and between statesmen like Jefferson and Hamilton. But in some way or other differences were always adjusted, and the thirteen colonies became one United States. The failure of South America to unite in those early days explains why today there are ten different republics in South America.

San Martín Departs for Europe. As the Argentine general sailed back to Lima, he was going over in his mind what he should do. Evidently Bolívar could come to the aid of Peru if San Martín were not in the way. Very well then; he would eliminate himself. He had won fame enough. His body was worn out by years of hard cam-

paings. It would be a relief to get away from the squabbles of his generals and the aristocracy of Lima, who accused him of wanting to be a king. They would like the clever Bolívar better than the stoic Argentine (as San Martín called himself). No doubt Bolívar could conquer the remaining Spaniards. Yes, it was all very clear—he would give up his command when he arrived at Lima and disappear from the scene. And so he did, thus making one of the greatest sacrifices a successful man was ever called upon to make.

On arrival at Lima San Martín learned that in his absence his most trusted minister had been driven out of the city. Confusion and division were present everywhere. This completed his decision. His resignation was placed in the hands of the first Peruvian Congress, September 20, 1822. He left for Chile immediately. After a few days with his old friend O'Higgins he crossed the mountains to Mendoza. He spent a few months in this town where he had gathered and trained his army. Returning to Argentina, he found that there, too, all was confusion. He had no money, and he felt that his usefulness was past. In 1824 he took his only daughter and sailed for France. There he ended his life in poverty, August 17, 1850. Years afterwards Argentina recognized his greatness and removed his body to Buenos Aires, where it lies in the cathedral, blessed by a grateful nation.

"The Saint of the Sword," as an Argentine biographer calls San Martín, showed his great spirit in his farewell address in Lima, when he gave the reasons for his departure:

I have witnessed the declaration of the independence of the states of Chile and Peru. I hold in my hand the standard which Pizarro used to enslave the empire of the Incas. My promise to the countries for which I fought are fulfilled: to secure their independence and leave them to select their own governments. The presence of a fortunate soldier, however disinterested he may be, is dangerous to newly established states. Then, too, I am weary of hearing people say that I wish to make myself a monarch. Nevertheless I shall always be ready to make the last sacrifice for the liberty of this country, but only in the capacity of a private citizen. With regard to my public conduct, my compatriots, as in most affairs, will be divided in opinion. Their children will render a just verdict.

Bolívar Goes to Lima. Soon after San Martín left Lima, Bolívar arrived. He found the country in chaos. Two presidents were struggling for dominance, and a strong loyalist army was encamped in the interior. Bolívar was made dictator of Peru. But the cause of the patriots seemed to be about lost. "What shall we do?" cried Bolívar's lieutenant, Mosquera. "Forward and triumph," replied the Liberator. His plan of action was to shut the royalist army in the mountains, attack them there, and decide the whole issue. The best of all patriot generals, an intimate friend of Bolívar, Antonio José de Sucre, was given leadership. Other veteran generals included the Englishman Miller, the Argentine Necochea, and Carrión, Bolívar's war secretary. They found the superior Spanish forces near the mountain town of Junín. Nine hundred patriot cavalry decided on a daring charge. They were met by a superior force of royalist cavalry. The battle continued for an hour without a shot being fired, horse-

man against horseman, sword against sword. The infantry and artillery of both armies watched the terrific encounter, like entranced spectators at a rodeo in Madison Square Garden. Gradually the veteran patriots, though fewer in number, drove the Spaniards towards the hills and finally into full flight.

Four months after Junín, on December 9, 1824, Sucre again faced the Spaniards, almost twice as numerous. "On our efforts today hangs the future of all South America," Sucre told his soldiers as they entered the battle. When the day seemed lost, the impetuous young Colombian, General Córdova, rode out in front of his men, jumped off his horse, stuck his hat high on his sword, and called upon his men to follow. Such patriotism could not but win. Before the sun went down, the viceroy himself was a prisoner. He there and then recognized the independence of Peru and of all Spanish America!

The Republic of Bolivia Is Born. Bolívar remained in Lima from September 1, 1823, to September 4, 1826. Here he was raised to the status of a demi-god. He lived the life of an Oriental potentate. Always a great admirer of the ladies, here he was made their idol. He found the organization of peace much more difficult than carrying on campaigns in war. In 1825 he created, with the aid of Sucre, the Republic of Bolivia. The country was carved out of the northern section of Argentina and the southern part of Peru. Sucre accepted the presidency for a brief time, and Bolívar paid a visit to the new republic which had been named in his honor.

Bolívar Returns to Colombia and to Defeat. All this time the Liberator was president of Colombia and on a leave of absence from that republic. But there were many insistent calls that he return and try to organize that much-divided land. Before he finally returned, he made a triumphant journey through Peru to the Inca capital of Cuzco, and then on to the capital of Bolivia, named Sucre in honor of the general. Aristocrats and Indians alike bowed before him, strewed his path with flowers, and presented him with golden crowns and keys. He enjoyed these glories too long. When he arrived at Bogotá in the latter part of 1826, he was received with respect and with some enthusiasm. But it was soon evident that his star was setting. The vice-president, Santander, worked secretly against him. In Venezuela, likewise, his old cowboy friend, Páez, turned against him. He tried to save his proudest creation, Great Colombia. Instead of succeeding, his enemies actually attacked his home, intending to kill him. The plot to assassinate his closest friend and the greatest of generals, Sucre, succeeded. Petty intrigues, dissensions, and disloyalties broke his health. Realizing he could do nothing in the midst of anarchy, he prepared to follow the example of San Martín and return to Europe. But he was too weak from the disease which ravaged him to go farther than the little town of Santa Marta, in northern Colombia. There, on December 17, 1830, died the greatest genius of South America.

The fight for independence produced many heroes, but no one of these, north or south, had the varied

talents of Simón Bolívar. He could lead a victorious army all day, dictate to three secretaries in the evening, and then dance enthusiastically at a state ball till dawn. He could write the constitution for a republic, or set down the plans for a league of nations with as much skill as he could plan a military campaign. This man, who was admired by Napoleon, by Lafayette, and by Henry Clay, mingled as a friend with his common soldiers. He bested his lieutenants in swimming across a river with his hands tied or in jumping over the head of a horse without touching its ears. As long as books are written and youth risks life for liberty, the tale of Simón Bolívar will be told. And his story will be associated in the minds of men with San Martín, O'Higgins, and other great revolutionary heroes.

MEXICAN INDEPENDENCE

Mexico began her struggle for independence in 1810, the same year that Venezuela, Argentina, Chile, and other colonies began theirs. In a report to the king in 1799 the situation in Mexico was described by the bishop of Michoan as one that was bound to produce trouble. Said the bishop:

In America one is either rich or miserable, noble or infamous. Indians and mestizos live in deep humiliation. The ignorance and the suffering of the Indians separate them completely from the whites. The very laws made to protect them seem to harm them.

The famous German traveler, Humboldt, reported on his trip to Mexico seven years later:

The factories appeared as prisons. The workers were half-naked, covered with sores. The great doors were kept closed, and workmen were not allowed to leave

the factory. Only on Sundays could the married ones see their families.

The revolt, which began like those of other regions, soon took on another quality. The social motive was very strong in Mexico's desire for independence. Thus early was prophesied the social revolution of 1910. The Mexican leaders of independence, Hidalgo and Morelos, were not military leaders like Bolívar and San Martín in South America. They were two parish priests profoundly interested in aiding their Indian wards. Their followers were members of the laboring class, known as peons. Before starting the revolution, Hidalgo endeavored to change the status of the Indians by introducing the culture of the silkworm and improving conditions in the factories. But he could get nowhere because of the opposition of the Spanish officials and clergy. He had been brought before the Inquisition on two separate occasions but went free for lack of evidence.

Father Hidalgo planned his revolt for December, 1810. But on the night of September 15, he was suddenly awakened by a fellow conspirator, Ignacio Allende, a captain in the Spanish regiment. Allende reported that the plot had been discovered. Hidalgo acted at once. His followers quickly multiplied as the revolution spread. But the priest was no general. His soldiers were largely armed with clubs and stones. He and his ragged followers were driven north to Chihuahua, where this great hero was captured, condemned to death by the Inquisition, and shot on July 26, 1811.

After the death of the leader, José Morelos, one of Hidalgo's followers,

headed the patriots' cause. He, too, was condemned by the Inquisition, tried by the government, and shot.

They had started a movement, however, that, in 1821, was finally to compel the Spanish viceroy to acknowledge Mexican freedom. It was a clear demonstration of the power of the Mexican Indian, once aroused, to fight for his rights. Today the bell that Hidalgo rang in the chapel of Dolores to call the Indians to revolt hangs in the National Palace in Mexico City. At midnight on September 15, the president of the republic appears on the balcony of the palace, rings the bell, and repeats Hidalgo's *grito de libertad*, the "cry of liberty." And the thousands crowding the great plaza below repeat the cry. Owing to the fact that Hidalgo did not have the support of all classes in those early days, Mexico has been compelled to go through many a bloody revolution before attaining its real liberty.

CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

In colonial days Central America was under the viceroy of Mexico. Until 1821 it was controlled by a small group of white exploiters. In that year a local group took hold of affairs and declared the independence of Central America. This declaration was accepted by Spain without any armed opposition. At first Mexico endeavored to maintain a tie with its Southern neighbors, but in 1823 they broke away and established the United Provinces of Central America. This organization was disrupted in 1838, and the five sections became five separate republics.

In 1804, following the French Revolution, Haiti had wrested its freedom

from France. The Dominican Republic, a part of the same West Indian island, freed itself from Spain in 1821 but soon fell under the dominance of Haiti and so remained until 1844.

BRAZIL'S BLOODLESS MOVEMENT

Brazil, like Central America, attained its freedom from the mother country without any violence, but for quite a different reason. When Napoleon invaded the Iberian peninsula, the English aided the members of the Portuguese royal family to escape to Rio de Janeiro. There King João VI remained until 1821. From this time on Brazil had the same privileges as the mother country. Industries were freed from restrictions. European immigrants were urged to settle in the new kingdom. French artists and scholars were brought to the country. A military academy and a medical school were started. The Royal Library was opened to the public, and a printing press turned out many volumes. When King João returned to Lisbon, Rio de Janeiro knew itself to be a strong cultural and political center. Consequently, the young son of João, who was left to rule in Brazil, was quite willing to follow the suggestions of the Brazilians and declared for independence from the mother country on September 7, 1822.

URUGUAY BECOMES INDEPENDENT

The buffer state of Uruguay, which had been a part of the Provinces of Rio de la Plata during colonial days, became the subject of continuous struggle on the part of Brazil and Argentina. In 1825 Uruguay declared her freedom and set up her own independent government. In the war

which ensued with Brazil, Uruguay was aided by forces from Argentina. In the peace which was signed in 1828, both Brazil and Argentina recognized and guaranteed the independence of Uruguay.

Thus, two years before the premature death of Simón Bolívar, the following states counted their independence as achieved: Mexico, the United Provinces of Central America, Great Colombia, Peru, Bolivia,

Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Brazil, and Haiti. Another three quarters of a century passed before Cuba and Panama joined the family of Latin-American republics. The movement toward independence had been a long and noble fight. From 1810 to 1828 the struggle had continued. But the patriots were to learn that a still more difficult battle awaited them, the battle to establish and maintain efficient democratic governments.

TEST YOURSELF

A. Who Were These Leaders of the Independence Movement? The characters listed here were important in the independence movement of Latin America. For each statement in the group below, write in parentheses the letter of the name which matches it. (Notice that there are more names than statements.)

- | | |
|-------------|----------------|
| a. Hidalgo | g. Morelos |
| b. Cochrane | h. O'Higgins |
| c. Belgrano | i. Tupac Amaru |
| d. Bello | j. Sucre |
| e. Miranda | k. San Martín |
| f. Bolívar | |

- () 1. The priest who started the revolution for Mexican independence.
- () 2. Bolívar's lieutenant who liberated Bolivia and became its first president.
- () 3. The Venezuelan revolutionary who established the American Union Club of London.
- () 4. The English naval officer whose ships helped San Martín attack Peru.
- () 5. The Argentine soldier who led the revolt in Chile and Peru.
- () 6. The leading Chilean in the independence movement.
- () 7. The Venezuelan who liberated the northern half of the continent.
- () 8. An Inca who led an Indian revolt against the Spanish in Peru.
- () 9. A Venezuelan author who was sent to London to seek aid against Napoleon.
- () 10. The Argentine general who sought Paraguay's aid in liberating Montevideo.

B. What Were Some of the Factors in the Independence Movement? Each of the following statements about this subject is accompanied by a set of phrases to complete it. Any one or all of them may be correct. Underscore the correct completion or completions for each statement.

1. The Spanish colonies in the New World were ripe for revolt because of the following abuses:

- a. The masses were miserably poor while the few were rich and powerful.
- b. The offices were held largely by men who had never been in Spain.
- c. Liberal books and ideas were forbidden by the Inquisition.
- d. Businessmen paid heavy taxes and were subject to very strict laws.

2. The following foreign factors encouraged the revolutionary movement:

- a. The Spanish king, Ferdinand VII, voluntarily granted independence to some of his colonies.
- b. Napoleon deposed the Spanish king and put his own brother on the throne.
- c. British liberals encouraged Miranda and his fellow revolutionaries in London.
- d. The British seizure of Buenos Aires aroused the Argentine patriots to fight for independence from both Britain and Spain.
- e. The United States was visited by such revolutionary leaders as Miranda and Bolívar.

3. The meeting of Bolívar and San Martín at Guayaquil brought these decisions:

- a. San Martín resigned his command and left Bolívar to finish the wars of liberation.
- b. The province of Quito remained part of Colombia.
- c. The new nations were not to be governed by monarchs.
- d. The Spanish would be allowed to keep control of Peru.

C. Correspondence or Class Assignments. See general instructions under this heading, p. viii.)

1. Write a comparison of George Washington and Simón Bolívar, including such points as: family background, personality, military achievements and statesmanship.

2. What caused the movement for independence in Latin America? Write an explanation of the causes, under the following headings: (a) the faults of the colonial system; (b) the ideas of the American and French revolutions; (c) the effects of the Napoleonic Wars.

D. Suggestions for Extra Reading

Goetz and Fry, *The Good Neighbors*. Ch. 5.

Inman, Samuel Guy, *Latin America, Its Place in World Life*. Ch. 4.

Stewart and Peterson, *Builders of Latin America*. Ch. 7-11.

Williams, M. W., *People and Politics of Latin America*. Ch. 13.

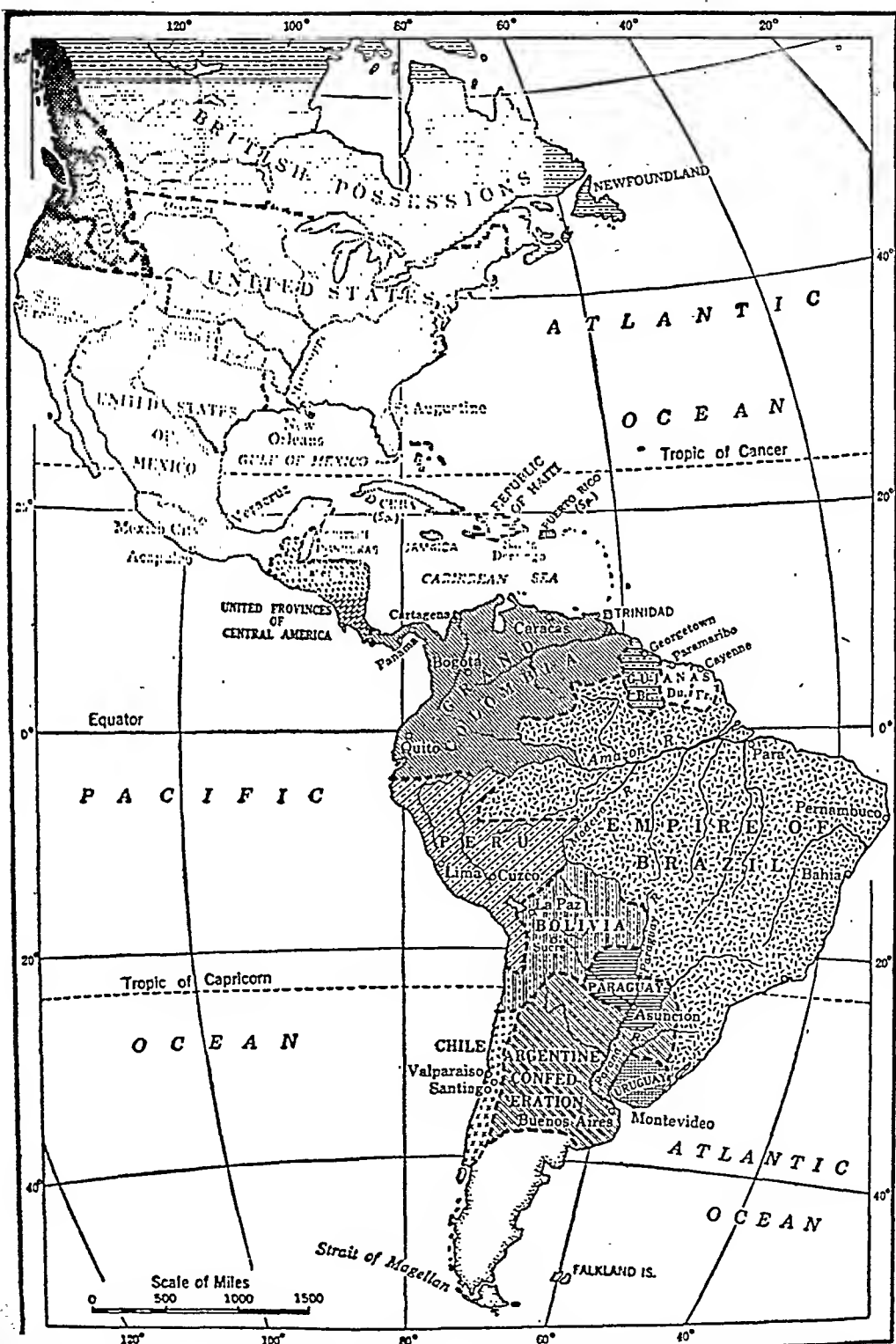
VIII. THE STRUGGLE TOWARD DEMOCRACY

The republics had now won their independence. They had set up their own governments. The next question was: Would the rest of the world acknowledge them as nations? They naturally expected the greatest amount of aid from the United States and Great Britain, for they were the most democratic countries and the ones that most desired foreign trade. During the early days of the Spanish-American struggle for independence the United States considered itself obliged to maintain neutrality until all pending questions with Spain were settled. Eager to develop relations with the new countries, however, it sent an agent, named Joel Poinsett, to Argentina and Chile, and other agents to northern South America. These men were somewhat surprised at their enthusiastic reception. At home the ardent young leader from Kentucky, Henry Clay, began his long fight in Congress to secure the recognition of the new republics. In 1822 the United States sent its first minister to Colombia. In the next year the Monroe Doctrine was promulgated. Thus we announced to the world that we accepted the countries as free, independent nations.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Before the Spanish-American republics asked for recognition (ac-

knowledgment of independence) by the United States, they sent several delegations to Great Britain to secure her co-operation. Early in the struggle Great Britain replied by making loans and furnishing ships and men to the South American patriots. The British Prime Minister, Canning, boasted of this help and declared: "I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old." This was not true, because the Americans had won their own independence. But Britain did help by lending them her great influence. Russia, Austria, and Prussia took a different attitude. They entered into an arrangement, known as the Holy Alliance, to protect monarchy against the alarming spread of democracy. It looked as if the alliance, which was later joined by most of the other monarchs of Europe (the Pope, the Sultan of Turkey, and Great Britain holding aloof), would aid Spain to recover its lost American colonies. Facing such a threat, Canning proposed to the United States that the two governments make a joint declaration in favor of the new republics. This was a daring measure. President Monroe consulted with Jefferson, Madison, Adams, and other statesmen on this important matter. He finally decided against a joint declaration with Great Britain and in favor



North and South America in 1826, after the Wars of Independence

of an announcement by the United States defining its own policy. President Monroe then sent his famous message to Congress in which he notified European countries that any attempt to subdue or influence the nations of the New World would be considered as hostile acts against the United States of America.

The message that President Monroe sent to Congress on December 2, 1823 was a great aid to the Southern nations. Setting out on a precarious existence, they wondered whether they would find friends anywhere. President Monroe assured them that they would. He declared that the American countries "by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." He went on to say that the United States would view as an unfriendly act any European intervention to oppress or control the destiny of American republics, whose independence it had recognized. Latin America received the report with much satisfaction. This doctrine of "America for the Americans," that Europe must allow us to live our own life on this continent without interfering with any part of the New World, became the guiding policy of United States' foreign relations. It was that fundamental idea which led us in the second World War to co-operate with our Southern neighbors in resisting the Axis.

Great Britain followed the example of the United States in recognizing the new Southern republics. In 1824 she signed a treaty with Argentina, and soon did the same with other re-

publics. She persuaded her ally, Portugal, to admit the independence of Brazil in 1825. One year before, the United States had made the same friendly gesture by receiving the Brazilian representative, José Rebello. He came to Washington to propose an alliance with the United States to defend the ideas expressed in the Monroe Doctrine. Rebello's instructions were to "express an exclusive partiality for the American system." This illustrates the fact that many Southern statesmen had the same ideas as Monroe about keeping the American continent free from European dominance.

France recognized the American republics in 1830. Already the Pope had done the same. Spain, the mother country, was the only one to hold out. For many years she grudgingly refused to recognize her children's rights to set up their own houses, delaying as late as 1882 the recognition of Honduras. By the time that Bolívar retired from active service, however, the Latin-American republics had definitely become permanent members of the family of nations.

WHAT KIND OF GOVERNMENT?

Southern Americans were soon to learn that the most difficult of all problems is to govern oneself. "Independence," exclaimed Bolívar in one of his pessimistic moods, "is the only good we have achieved." In describing the early handicaps of his people, he said:

We possess a world apart, new in almost all the arts and sciences, and yet old in a fashion, after the uses of civil society. Neither Indian nor European, we are a species that lies midway between. Is it conceivable that a people recently freed

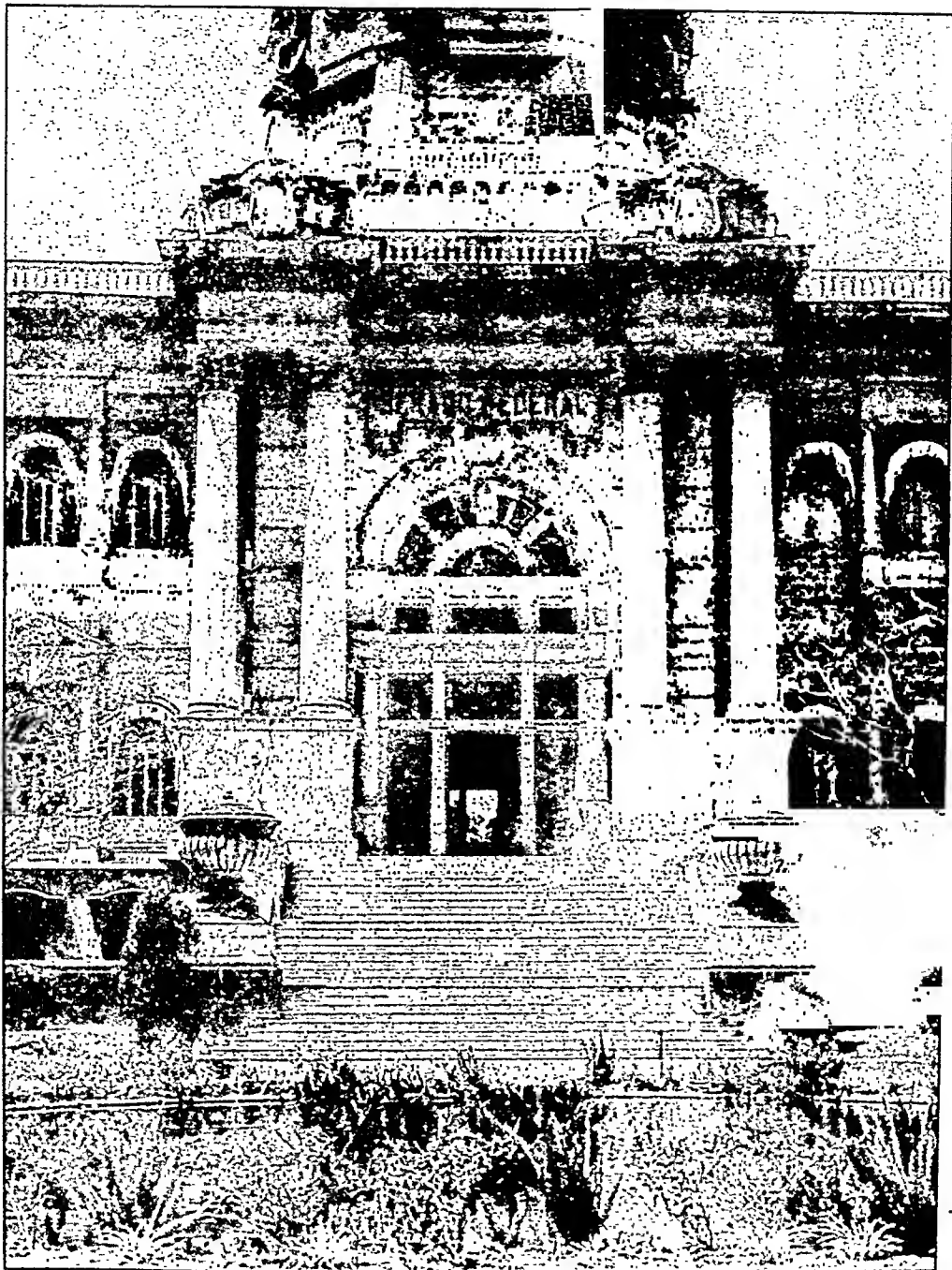


Photo from Ewing Galloway

The Monroe Palace in Rio de Janeiro was dedicated by Elihu Root, United States Secretary of State, in 1906. Until 1930 it was used as a meeting place of the Brazilian senate.

of its chains can launch itself into the sphere of liberty, without shattering its wings, like Icarus, and plunging into the abyss? . . . The majority are mestizos, mulattoes, Indians, and Negroes. An ignorant people is a blunt instrument for its own destruction. To it, liberty means license, patriotism means disloyalty, and justice means vengeance.

Such words were uttered when the Liberator was sick and discouraged. But there is truth enough in them to indicate the difficulties of developing a new government. It seems natural to us today that they should have chosen the republican form, as did the English colonists. The fact is that, given their lack of preparation for self-government and the advice of many of their leaders, the most natural thing would have been for them to choose monarchy. The arguments in favor of a monarchy presented by San Martín and many others were strong. In the first place, a king gives personality to patriotism. He is a living flag that the most ignorant citizen can understand. Again, tradition and custom are always conservative forces—especially needed in young countries that have few people who understand anything about a republic, with its nicely balanced power between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. Three sources were suggested from which the new countries might secure such a monarch: (1) a prince from England, Spain, or other European country; (2) a descendant from the Inca Empire; or (3) a prince from the ruling house in Brazil. Argentina went as far as to send a delegation to Europe to look for a prince to head the government at Buenos Aires. But none could be found.

Bolívar's Plan. After long years of pondering over the subject of the best form of government, Bolívar developed the idea of a combination of republic and kingdom. Bolívar stated his ideas in a constitution which he proposed for the Republic of Bolivia. The president was to hold office for life and appoint his successor. His authority would be limited by making the vice-president the main administrative officer. He would be subject to impeachment by congress and the supreme court. Some of the members of the congress were to be elected for short periods, others for life. Bolívar believed in a fourth division of the government which would look after the education and morals of the citizens. While not a devout churchman, the Liberator was a strong believer in the power of religion and moral force to conserve loyalty and patriotism. Undoubtedly this plan took into account the real conditions that prevailed, but it was not accepted.

The third proposal was that of a federation of separate states into a federal union. It was the least adapted to conditions in Latin America. In the North the English colonists had been experimenting with self-government. In the South neither the Spanish nor the Indian population had a clear conception of the balance between the different divisions of government or the significance of individuals voting for officials. In the North thirteen different states needed very much to be united. In the South, where the different sections of each viceroyalty had always had a common government, to force government on local communities was a difficult feat. But the patriots were determined to

have the best in the market. A Colombian citizen, Miguel de Pombo, translated the constitution of the United States into Spanish and said to his countrymen:

What then is that nation which we ought to imitate—the nation whose constitution may serve us as a model? That nation is upon our own continent. It is the people of the United States—the first people upon the globe that are entitled to the distinguished honor of having established a form of government favorable to universal liberty.

Most of the countries carried out the ideas of Pombo and adopted constitutions patterned after that of their Northern neighbor. Chile was one of the exceptions. Under the influence of a businessman named Portales her constitution provided for a strong executive, following to a certain extent the suggestions of Bolívar. This document lasted for nearly a hundred years.

In regard to religious liberty, however, the Spanish American constitutions deviated from the United States model. Practically all of these documents provided that the Roman Catholic Church was to be the religion of the state and usually prohibited the exercise of any other. The Peruvian constitution stated, "The nation professes the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion; the state protects it and does not permit the public exercise of any other." In spite of the plea for religious liberty made by Bolívar, the Bolivian Constitution of 1826 stated: "The Roman Catholic Apostolic religion is the religion of the republic to the exclusion of all other public cults."

The political debates in the various

republics soon became related to the church. Instead of being divided between Republicans and Democrats, as in the North, the parties were usually called Clerical (relating to the clergy) and Liberal. There were several especially troublesome questions. One was education. During the colonial period the Church had been charged with the responsibility of conducting the schools. Leaders in the new republics usually considered that education should be directed by the state. Outstanding universities like San Marcos in Lima and the University of Mexico were needed. However, the Church opposed the organization of free schools conducted by the state, since they were likely to omit religious instruction, or might even be anti-religious.

Another question related to marriage. The liberals believed that the legal ceremony should be performed by the state, with the religious ceremony left optional with the bride and groom. The Church insisted that marriages must be performed under the auspices of the Church.

A third question arose in regard to cemeteries. The Church controlled the burial grounds. It permitted only the faithful to be interred in these grounds. Liberals, who had abandoned the Church, as well as Protestants, Jews, and others regarded as heretics, were often deprived of any decent place to inter their dead.

The matter of taxes also brought much hard feeling. Should the government of a republic continue the old custom of the colony of collecting tithes for the Church? Should an institution, often richer than the state, receive financial support from the

state? Numerous questions of this nature occupied the time of citizens and prevented them from united attack on other problems.

Boundary Disputes. It is natural for people living in the United States to think that the boundaries of nations are as clearly fixed as the lines of the lots on which two neighbors' houses are situated. This idea, when applied to the republics of Latin America, is quite wrong. Remember that when the Europeans first began to explore and settle America, there were only three great divisions. One belonged to Portugal, roughly corresponding to what is today Brazil. The other two belonged to Spain. One of these was called New Spain; it extended from California down through the Mexico of today to Panama. The third division was called the Viceroyalty of Peru, embracing all of South America outside of Brazil. Later Spain created four viceroyalties, with capitals at Mexico City, Bogotá, Lima, and Buenos Aires. Smaller divisions were gradually acknowledged, like Guatemala, Ecuador, and Chile. In wild country which was not mapped, it is clear that grants made by the king—from a certain mountain to a certain river, whose bed was constantly changing—would be subject to dispute. Some of these disputes arose immediately after the setting up of independent governments. Others did not become serious until land became valuable because of the discovery of oil, as in the case of the Chaco between Bolivia and Paraguay.

Boundary disputes were, from the beginning of Latin-American independence, the most serious causes of war between neighbors. With such

boundaries unsurveyed, it was easy for a country that had imperialistic desires about controlling its neighbors to start a fuss over the claims concerning trespassing on its boundaries. This was the ostensible excuse for the war between the United States and Mexico (1846–1848), as well as between Chile, Bolivia, and Peru (1879–1883). As we study the history of the various republics, we shall be impressed with the time they have lost in continuous quarrels over territory which often seemed of little value. Since all other nations have done the same, it is quite unfair to blame the Southern countries unduly for such quarrels. Most of the disputes have been settled not by war but by arbitration, that is, by the decision of an outside person or persons chosen by the disputing parties. The President of the United States has several times been asked to arbitrate such matters. Modern science has recently contributed to their solution by accurately tracing geographical points in mountainous and jungle regions and by photographing these from airplanes. By the year 1943 all but minor disputes seemed to have been settled.

Boundary disputes were increased because, after independence was secured, leadership fell into the hands of generals who had led in the fight against Spain. With Bolívar, San Martín, and Sucre out of the picture, lesser generals like Páez of Venezuela, Santander of Colombia, Flores of Ecuador, and Santa Cruz of Bolivia injected their personal quarrels into the relations between their countries. Like the generals of Alexander the Great, each one of the lesser commanders began to use the peace as a

means of setting up his own little kingdom. This is not to say that each of these men was not honest in his belief that he knew what was best for his country.

Unfortunately there was no definite pattern of government for the Latin-American republics to follow. A leader who energetically suppressed lawlessness and compelled people to play a united game was likely to be considered a tyrant. His opponents would then start armed movements to suppress such tyranny. If the strong arm was relaxed, anarchy soon reared its ugly head. In the hundred years and more since independence government leadership has continually shifted by force of arms from dictatorship to a trial of democratic methods and back to dictatorship again. In Latin America such rapid changes in leadership are called "revolutions." To us the word *revolution* means a violent uprising as, for example, the French Revolution, when monarchy was overthrown and a republic set up. But in Latin America a revolution may occur without a change in the form of government. Sometimes it is merely an attempt to change rulers. Thus it happens that any armed movement, which may not even have the importance of a labor strike in the United States, is called a revolution in the Southern republics.

The leader of a successful revolution who assumed command of the government and ruled with force in the early years of the Latin-American republics was given a special name. He was called a *caudillo*. The word means chief, or leader. But it is not easy to define in English. He is usually pictured as a man on horseback,

with a strong will, a rough sense of justice, and a determination to use whatever methods were necessary to bring about orderly government. He lived in a period of disorganization. He assumed practically all the responsibility for solving the problems of the nation. Later, when such *caudillos* moved into an age of better organization, got down off their horses and began to ride in carriages and live in mansions, they became known as dictators.

We should be careful not to judge the *caudillos* and dictators of Latin America by the same standards as we judge the rulers of the United States. A strong central government may be preferable to one that is run by ten-thousand town meetings, when few people in the towns know anything about the issues they are asked to decide or can read the ballot they are supposed to cast. The *caudillos* were seldom worse than the chiefs of Tammany Hall who at times have controlled New York City, or governors of some of the states who have employed a band of deputy sheriffs to oppress the people.

Opponents of Dictatorship. The absolute authority, called dictatorship, has never been meekly accepted in Latin-American countries. Among the opponents of the man who had seized the power, a group of intellectuals was sure to be found. Although these intellectuals were seldom able to place their representatives in the actual seat of the administrator, they had great influence on the government, either as critics or as members of a "brain trust" which advised the administrator. From the beginning of the independence movement

keen students of government were found in the various countries. About the middle of the nineteenth century this group was considerably enlarged. One of their representatives was the famous Juan Bautista Alberdi, whose books remind one of the writings of Alexander Hamilton. Many of the intellectuals were professors in the universities and editors of newspapers, institutions which exercised much influence in political life. It was not altogether ignorance of the methods of self-government but other causes as well that brought long years of chaos in Latin America. Leaders failed to realize that a new political system could not work if an old colonial economic system was retained. The great majority of people in Latin America no more participate in the machinations of such a revolutionary leader than the majority in the United States determine the actions of their political bosses. One of the surprising things about a Latin-American revolution is the slight effect it usually has on the everyday life of the country. Most Latin Americans take great pains to keep out of politics. There is usually a tacit understanding between the dictator and his people that they may go their own way so long as they do not interfere with governmental affairs. Under such conditions public opinion has scarcely any existence, and the average person, native or foreigner, feels no responsibility for the general welfare. The dictator and his group are themselves often interested only in maintaining the strength of the army and making sure that finances are available.

Dictators in Southern America are far different from the totalitarian

kind in Europe. Dictators like Rosas of Argentina, Díaz of Mexico, and Gómez of Venezuela have not invaded the well-known individualistic philosophy of the Spanish Americans. As long as the political dominance of the *caudillos* was unquestioned, they made no effort to dictate the totality of the economic, social, and cultural life of their people. None of these dictators ever dared to ridicule democracy, and they seldom failed to declare loyalty to a written constitution. They never boasted of eliminating the law, or made sport of their legislative bodies and the courts as the European dictators have done.

LATIN AMERICA PROGRESSES

The leaders of the Revolution against Spain were politically, not economically, minded. Dominated by the political theories, they thought little of changing fundamental conditions to relieve the economic exploitation of the common man. The first century of independence shows scarcely any effort to free labor from its bondage. The condition of the Indians was at times even worse than in colonial times. Many of the great landed estates had their origin in the favors shown to their friends by government officials during the nineteenth century. The landed proprietors usually controlled the government and used it to aid them in exploiting the Indians and the sharecroppers. The system of capitalism was introduced by the English and later on reinforced by the North Americans and French. The division of society into two distinct classes, the rich and the poor, the educated and the ignorant, the great proprietors and the peons, was defi-

nately fixed. Foreign capitalists and businessmen who came to these republics to do business, to build railways, and to open banks aided the privileged classes to maintain these divisions. Many political reforms were undertaken during the nineteenth century. But not until 1910 in Mexico was a fundamental social and economic revolution started. Many years after independence the old Spanish laws and Napoleonic code continued. These did not consider labor as free. In fact, many of the laws of countries like Chile, Argentina, Ecuador, and Mexico clearly indicated the legal inferiority of workers. The only exception was some protection given to miners. This makes all the more remarkable the progressive social legislation of the last twenty years which is described in a later chapter.

Efforts toward Unification. No sooner had the colonists secured their independence than they began to move away from each other. Venezuela and Ecuador left Colombia, Paraguay, and Uruguay separated from Buenos Aires. Central America set up her house independently of Mexico and then separated into five republics. At the same time a counter movement for union was begun. This was emphasized by the Panama Congress called by Bolívar in 1826. While the Congress failed in many ways, it started a movement which has continued, even in the darkest days of division, to urge unity. Under the leadership of Peru, Mexico, Colombia, and Chile, especially, conferences were held to develop such unity. Vicuña Mackenna, the Chilean historian, gives a list of thirty well-known Latin Americans who, during the middle of

the last century, were advocating American unity. Some included and some excluded the United States and Brazil in such a plan for Spanish America.

The Mid-Nineteenth Century. In all America, North and South, there were evidences of a new era of progress around the middle of the nineteenth century. The revolution of 1848 in Europe in favor of more liberal government was not successful. But it had its effect on the thinking of America just as the French Revolution had fifty years before. When Abraham Lincoln gave his great address at Gettysburg and defined democracy as "government of the people, by the people, and for the people," he was only one of a number of leaders who was preaching that idea. At that time there were three other heads of government in America who were great democrats. These were Mitre of Argentina, Juárez of Mexico, and, strangely enough, the emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro II.

An Emperor Favors Democracy. It was Dom Pedro who, by his own democratic spirit, did most to change Brazil into a republic. When the emperor met Victor Hugo on a visit to Europe, he told the famous writer as he sat beside him: "Now for the first time I feel that I am sitting on a throne." The emperor was very fond of scientific and literary men. He invited the great American scientist, Professor Louis Agassiz, to Brazil to study natural life in the Amazon valley. When the study was finished, Agassiz gave, at the request of the emperor, a series of lectures in Rio de Janeiro. His wife was very eager to attend these, but at that time it was unheard

of for a woman to attend such meetings. He approached Dom Pedro on the subject. The emperor replied that the women would not understand the lecture, but he would send them special invitations. "Not at all," replied the intrepid professor, "let them come with their husbands and fathers as in the United States. If they are as ignorant as your Majesty thinks they are, the sooner you put them in the way of learning something, the better for them and their children." The ladies came. It is not recorded whether or not they understood the lectures.

The emperor visited the United States during the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia in 1876. On his first Sunday in this country he attended Mass at the cathedral in the morning and a Moody and Sankey revival service in the evening. When he met the Quaker poet Whittier, he tried to embrace him in true Latin-American fashion. But the shy New Englander eluded him and extended his hand instead. However, when they parted, the emperor was too quick for the poet and succeeded in giving him an enthusiastic embrace. Dom Pedro traveled so widely and asked so many questions that a newspaper remarked: "When he goes home, he will know more about the United States than two thirds of the members of Congress." Said another editor: "No ruler has, as a ruler or as a man, ever deserved so well from the United States as Pedro II."

President Mitre of Argentina. Especially famous in Argentina is the name of General Mitre, because he had the honor of being the first president of a united Argentina. For many

years he had worked for the defeat of the dictator Rosas. With other great men of Argentina, like Sarmiento and Alberdi, he had suffered exile, hunger, and humiliation in this struggle. But he had never lowered the flag of democracy. He and Lincoln began their administrations almost at the same time. But Mitre had his struggle for national unity behind him, while Lincoln had, with many a grave doubt, his terrific battle before him. The provinces of Argentina had never liked Buenos Aires—an imperious city, which looked down upon the cowboys and the farmers which made up much of the population of the country. Mitre's election showed that finally the people recognized the necessity of uniting if Argentina was ever to become a nation. It was Mitre's business to win the country people to the great metropolis—as difficult as persuading the farmers of the West that Wall Street is their friend. He went about it in a wise way. "The re-organization of the republic on the basis of morality, of liberty, and of a reformed constitution has been the banner which united the desires of all," the president declared. For his unifying work he was officially designated by his people as *benemérito de la patria*, "well-deserving of the nation." President Mitre, in the latter part of his administration, found himself assuming the command of the united military forces of Brazil, Uruguay, and his own country to stop the wild dreams of conquest of the Paraguayan dictator, López. Besides his political work as the great unifier of his country, he was a noted historian and poet. He is specially remembered today as the founder of the great newspaper, *La*

Nación, one of the world's best morning journals.

The Indian Patriot. "Some day I will hit that thing such a blow that it will be ended forever," thought young Abe Lincoln, as he left the steamboat on which he was working and witnessed the auctioning off of Negro slaves in the slave market at New Orleans. Twenty years later another young man walked through that same slave market and was equally shocked. But it was not the first time young Benito Juárez had seen deep indignities heaped on human beings. He himself was an Indian, a member of an oppressed race in his native Mexico. He was now a fugitive from one of the worst oppressors in Latin America, General Santa Anna. Hungry, without money or friends, he found work in a New Orleans cigar factory among refugee Cubans and Mexicans. His wage hardly kept him from starving. But he occupied his extra time in studying the problems then agitating the United States, the question of slavery and of states' rights. He studied especially the actions of Abraham Lincoln, for that man had endeared himself to Mexico six years before by a speech in Congress. In criticizing President Polk for declaring war against Mexico, Lincoln had said: "He feels the blood of this war, like the blood of Abel, is crying to heaven against him.—Let him remember that he sits where Washington sat, and let him answer as Washington would answer.—He is a bewildered, confounded, and miserably perplexed man."

At the time Lincoln was making that speech in Congress and General

Scott's soldiers were marching from Veracruz to Mexico City, Juárez was governor of the State of Oaxaca, Mexico. He had raised an army in his state to defend it from the invading force from the North. But the reactionary Santa Anna soon took charge of the defense of Mexico and lost the war. A few years later, as an enemy of all liberals, Santa Anna decided to destroy Juárez. It was then that the Mexican leader was expelled from his country and had to eke out a miserable existence in the slums of New Orleans. During those two years he came to realize that imperialism and injustice were not characteristics of a single nation, but might be carried out in any country when a reactionary party came into power. In 1855 Juárez returned to Mexico and was elected president of the Republic. In 1857 he gave to his nation the famous liberal constitution, which contained numerous ideas endorsed by Lincoln. In 1861 both Juárez and Lincoln found themselves thrust forward as leaders in soul-testing wars.

In April, 1865, Lincoln and the Union stood victorious. But not so Juárez. The French, who had landed at Veracruz four years before, had placed Maximilian on a hastily erected throne. The Indian leader, with a struggling, starving army, had been steadily crowded toward the Texas border. In a small town opposite El Paso, Texas, the Mexican patriots stood at bay. All seemed lost. At that critical time came word from Washington. "Hold on, help is coming," said the man in the White House to the Indian in a sun-baked adobe hut on the banks of the Rio Grande. Within a few weeks both

United States diplomats in Paris and United States soldiers on the Rio Grande were telling Napoleon III that he must get his troops out of Mexico. The French army began to move toward Veracruz and their ships. At the same time the troops of Juárez moved toward Mexico City and toward the capture of Maximilian.

The emperor and his dwindling army were overtaken at the quaint old city of Querétaro in central Mexico. Unable to resist the ragged forces of Indian democracy, the proud European prince was captured and shot. When the royal families of the Old World begged Juárez to spare the life of Maximilian, the reply was firm: the world must learn, so that it could never forget, that Mexico would allow no foreign interference with its independence and its republicanism. After the execution of the emperor, the mighty Indian leader returned to Mexico City. Unlike his good friend Lincoln, who was assassinated at the height of his power, Juárez continued as president of his country until he quietly passed away in 1872. Like President Mitre, of Argentina, he was decorated by his nation with the distinguished name, *benemérito*, which means, the "well-deserving one."

Interesting indeed—is it not?—to realize that in the 1860's democracy won out in both of these tremendous struggles on the North American Continent. In such a crisis America could count on leaders like Abraham Lincoln, Bartolomé Mitre, Benito Juárez, and that most democratic of emperors, Dom Pedro II.

Progress during a Century. A comparison of the United States and Latin America, a century after inde-

pendence was declared, reveals one notably significant trend in politics favorable to the Southern republics. With all the difficulties occasioned by revolutions and dictatorships within their borders, the result has been nevertheless that the most vital personalities have been called to leadership. In this connection it is interesting to note Thomas Jefferson's belief that a nation can retain its freshness only by revolutions, and James Bryce's declaration that the United States seldom elects its strongest men to the presidency.

By 1875 a number of the Latin-American countries had definitely emerged from the period of anarchy and started on the road toward an organized national life. Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and Costa Rica were engaged in a positive program of crop improvement, railroad building and construction of ports, development of international trade, and expansion of public education. Brazil had never had more than minor armed disturbances. After 1890 Argentina had no revolution for forty years. Colombia entered a definite period of peace with the opening of the new century. Mexico had peace during the long dominance of Porfirio Díaz, from 1876 to 1910. Revolutions, when they did occur, were not nearly so destructive of life as was commonly supposed by foreigners. In 1810 the population of Latin America was estimated at 15,000,000. In 1860 it was 25,000,000. In 1910 it was 80,000,000. Its foreign commerce expanded 400 per cent from 1810 to 1860, and 500 per cent from 1860 to 1910. During the century following independence popular education developed from

practically nothing to the point where every Latin-American country had established its national educational system. This reached from the primary school to the university. It provided, at least theoretically, for compulsory schooling for all citizens. Slavery, where it had existed, had been eliminated in each country, without war. Beginning with the provision in practically every constitution that Roman Catholicism was to be the only religion allowed, religious tolerance had attained official approval in all countries except Peru (where it was admitted in 1915). Legal equality, and to a much greater extent than in Anglo-Saxon democracies, social equality, was granted to Indians, Negroes, and all other racial groups. Great cities like Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, and Mexico City had been built and beautified. Campaigns for public health had begun; labor legislation had been inaugurated; important newspapers and literary journals had been developed. Tides of immigration had set in from Europe. All the great industrial countries were seeking an exchange of commerce with these growing lands.

The Latin-American republics had begun to occupy a place at the council table of the nations. They had accepted the principle of arbitration, first proclaimed by Bolívar at the Panama Congress in 1826. They had won world recognition by the settlement of the boundary dispute between Argentina and Chile and the erection of the statue of the Christ of the Andes

in honor of that event. Brazil had peacefully adjusted her border disputes with all of her seven neighbors. The agreement between the A B C powers (Argentina, Brazil, and Chile) had reduced armaments and settled other questions between these three countries. Mexico and the United States had led the Central American republics into closer co-operation. Altogether, the Latin-American countries had shown themselves by 1910 to have the qualities of leadership necessary to merit a place in the world's family of nations.

The greatest progress in the twenty republics was made following the first World War. That struggle shook those countries out of their complacency. They learned not to depend so largely on Europe. They started growing a variety of crops rather than depending on one product. They began to build their own industries and to supply their own capital. More co-operation in trade and in political life was developed among the Latin-American countries themselves. During the second World War a new continental solidarity was produced, on the basis of which the Pan American Union planned to have a large place in the development of peace machinery for all the nations of the world. The Southern republics had arrived at a point where they felt sure of their place in future world life. With this brief historical survey of the whole of Latin America, we are now ready to get a picture of each of the twenty individual republics.

TEST YOURSELF

A. What Is the Time-Order of Important Events in the Growth of Democracy? The events in the left-hand column are in the correct time-order. Write in each blank in the left-hand column the letter of the event in the right-hand column which occurred in that time interval.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Announcement of the Monroe Doctrine | a. Britain recognized the new American republics |
| 2. _____ | b. Juárez gave Mexico a new Constitution |
| 3. First conference of the American republics, in Panama | c. United States sent first ambassador to Colombia |
| 4. _____ | d. France recognized the republics |
| 5. War between Mexico and the United States | e. Mexican social revolution began |
| 6. _____ | f. Dom Pedro II visited the United States |
| 7. Mitre became President of Argentina | |
| 8. _____ | |
| 9. _____ | |
| 10. Religious tolerance adopted in Peru, the last country to do so | |

B. Facts *vs.* Opinions. The following statements about democracy in Latin America include statements of fact (some true and some false), as well as opinions (some of which are discussed in this chapter and others are not). For each statement of fact which is true, encircle the letter T; for each which is false, the letter F. For each opinion, encircle OD if it is discussed in the textbook; ON if not discussed.

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| T F OD ON | 1. The Monroe Doctrine was announced in a joint declaration of all the American republics. |
| T F OD ON | 2. The British Prime Minister, Canning, favored the independence of Spain's former colonies. |
| T F OD ON | 3. The Monroe Doctrine has been a wise policy. |
| T F OD ON | 4. The Doctrine forbade European nations to colonize further in this hemisphere. |
| T F OD ON | 5. A monarchy might have been a more natural government for Latin America than a republic. |
| T F OD ON | 6. Most of the new republics adopted a constitution like that of the United States. |
| T F OD ON | 7. They allowed only the Roman Catholic religion to be practiced. |
| T F OD ON | 8. It is unfortunate that boundary disputes often occurred. |
| T F OD ON | 9. The <i>caudillos</i> were seldom worse than the chiefs of Tammany Hall in New York City. |

- T F OD ON 10. President Mitre of Argentina founded the newspaper, *La Nación*.
- T F OD ON 11. In Latin America, revolutions are not as serious as the French Revolution was.
- T F OD ON 12. In the new republics, the Catholic Church favored free public schools.

C. Three Democratic Leaders. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the three leaders—Dom Pedro II, Bartolomé Mitre, and Benito Juárez—advanced democracy in their three countries. In the following statements about them, underline the letter of those that are true.

1. Dom Pedro II

- a. Invited Professor Agassiz to come to Brazil to study life in the Amazon basin.
- b. Forbade women to attend Agassiz's lectures.
- c. During his visit to the United States, was interested in all kinds of people.

2. President Mitre of Argentina

- a. Had been exiled by the dictator, Rosas.
- b. Brought Buenos Aires and the country districts into greater unity.
- c. Commanded the armies of Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay against the Paraguayan dictator, López.

3. President Benito Juárez of Mexico

- a. Worked in a New Orleans cigar factory while in exile.
- b. Favored the defeat of Santa Anna by the United States army.
- c. Captured and executed the Emperor Maximilian.
- d. Was a great admirer of Lincoln.

D. Correspondence or Class Assignments. (See general instructions under this heading, p. viii.)

1. The Monroe Doctrine has been United States policy for more than a century. Write an explanation of its original meaning and the reasons for its adoption.

2. What is the significance of "revolutions" and "dictators" in Latin America? Write a comparison of the meanings of these terms in Latin America and in Europe.

3. Why was Emperor Pedro II sometimes called the most democratic ruler in Latin America? Write a description of his policies that explains his reputation.

E. Suggestions for Extra Reading

Goetz and Fry, *The Good Neighbors*. Ch. 6.

Inman, Samuel Guy, *Latin America, Its Place in World Life*. Ch. 5.

Stewart and Peterson, *Builders of Latin America*. Ch. 12-14.

Williams, M. W., *People and Politics of Latin America*. Ch. 15.

IX. MEXICO

A Country of Contrasts. Few countries have more different phases of life represented by their people and their history than Mexico. One author calls it *la frontera de la raza*, "the frontier of the race." This symbolizes the significance of Mexico in holding the frontier against the influx of Anglo-Saxon life. Other writers emphasize the predominance of the Indian, insisting that the country cannot be understood without taking into account the aboriginal element. Mexico is also important as an art center. Nowhere are more beautiful or outstanding examples of Spanish colonial architecture and art to be found than in the City of Mexico. Diverse examples of Mexico's desire to be up to date are the modernistic buildings that begin to dominate the sky line of the capital and the basketball courts that are appearing in faraway villages in the mountains. The sharp contrasts are plainly visible to the eye as one approaches the country by plane from Guatemala. The trip from Veracruz to the capital, which in the time of Cortés required months, is now a matter of two hours by plane. As one wings his way into the great Valley of Mexico, he passes so near to the old snow-capped volcanoes, familiarly called "Popo" and "Ixta" (Popocatepetl and Ixtacihuatl),

that he is almost able to reach out his hand and brush the snow from their faces. At the same time, looking immediately below, he views the great Pyramids of the Sun and Moon, built by the Toltecs many centuries ago. Landing at a modern airport in Mexico City, one is taxied to a modern hotel and finds himself in the midst of the activities of a city of nearly 2,000,000 people. Almost at once, he is thrust into exciting discussions about modern social problems, labor movements, and new developments in art and literature. It makes little difference whether one is conservative or liberal, interested in politics, philosophy, archaeology, sociology, or modern music and motion pictures, he will find himself at home immediately in the atmosphere of Mexico City.

CORTÉS IMPOSES THE SPANISH SYSTEM

The history of Mexico might be written around the names of five important characters: Cortés, Hidalgo, Juárez, Díaz, and Madero. Each one initiated an important period in Mexican life. After the conquest Cortés began the system of enormous landed estates that persists today and constitutes one of Mexico's chief problems. The conquistadors carved out for

themselves great estates with thousands of acres and docile Indians, who lived upon the land and practically became serfs. Modern life later came to the cities, but in the country the old ways continued and economic slavery predominated. The owners cared not for the efficient development of their landed estates or the improvement of conditions among the tenants who worked on their estates. What they wanted was sufficient revenue to enable them to live extravagantly in Mexico City or in Paris. The Church, the army, and the government itself combined to perpetuate this antiquated social system. Mexican history, with its long series of revolutions, counterrevolutions, foreign interventions, and shifting constitutions cannot be understood unless the economic system fostered by the large landowners of the country is constantly kept in mind.

Hidalgo Demands Independence.

Hidalgo stands out as the leader in the struggle for independence. In 1810 this humble parish priest led the revolt against Spain. It is significant that a priest should have led the movement because the source of much of the strife in Mexico has been the attempt to separate Church and state. Not infrequently ecclesiastics held large, landed estates and, as rich landowners, were the partners of the army. But parish priests like Hidalgo illustrate the deep interest of the lower clergy in the welfare of the people. Long before the War of Independence, Hidalgo had shown his sympathy for the lowly Indian and had attempted to improve the primitive agricultural methods in use and to introduce the cultivation of the

silkworm. His interest in the natives brought him into trouble with the authorities who were determined to maintain the *status quo*; in other words, to uphold existing conditions. Their objective only served to convince him that the one solution to the problems of the Indian was independence from Spain. He therefore began to work towards this end, but his plans were discovered before he was ready to take effective action. Undaunted by the need of hastening his plans, he placed himself at the head of a bedraggled army of Indians armed with picks and spades and defied the power of Spain. His undisciplined hordes, after a few initial successes, were totally defeated. Hidalgo fell a prisoner, was degraded from his office of priest, and was shot in the back as a traitor. His head and those of three of his principal lieutenants were displayed on a public building in Guanajuato, now converted into a national museum.

Morelos Carries On. His death did not end the struggle for independence. Another parish priest, once his student, now took up the leadership. José María Morelos, who gave up his profession to head the cause, had considerable military ability. For two years he won one victory after another. By 1813 he was ready to call a congress, which met on November 2 of that year. This little group of patriots issued a formal declaration of independence and framed the first constitution of Mexico. This document asserted that the new government would protect the Roman Catholic religion, thus denying the charge that the revolutionists were against the Church. But at the same time it

declared that the Church would be maintained by voluntary contributions, clearly pointing out the need of separating the Church and the state. "Sovereignty," declared Morelos, "emanates directly from the people. Laws must apply to all alike without exceptions or privileges. As a good law is above all men, these laws which our congress shall enact must be such as to compel obedience and patriotism." He went further and advocated the confiscation of the larger landed estates.

Unfortunately, a young Spanish commander, Agustín de Iturbide, succeeded in entering into negotiations with the revolutionists. The new congress lost confidence in its leader. The army of the patriots became torn with dissension and was signally defeated. Morelos refused to abandon his friends and fell into the hands of the royalists, who promptly shot him. But he had kept alive the torch of liberty during the darkest hour of the struggle and given to the revolution a program that was to inspire others to continue the fight.

Dark days followed the death of the brilliant leader. During the next six years Spain almost succeeded in re-establishing its absolute sway. A few scattered patriots under such leaders as Guerrero, Guadalupe Victoria, and Nicolás Bravo kept up the fight. In 1820 the viceroy decided to crush the rebellion and, looking about for a leader to take command of the royalist forces, remembered the dashing young officer who had distinguished himself for his ruthlessness six years before. Agustín de Iturbide was called back into active service and charged with the task of dealing

the deathblow to the guerrilla bands that remained.

The young royalist, however, had become an admirer of the defenders of independence. He marched south ostensibly against Guerrero, the recognized leader of the patriots, and met him at the village of Iguala. After a secret interview he proclaimed the famous "Plan of Iguala," by which all parties were reconciled. Under his leadership the independence of Mexico was attained within a year. The Plan of Iguala is called the plan of the three guarantees because the signers pledged themselves to establish complete independence, to bring about the equality of all races before the law, and to maintain the Catholic Church as the national religion of Mexico.

Iturbide Is Proclaimed Emperor. A new viceroy arrived in Mexico, and there followed the Treaty of Córdoba, by which Viceroy O'Donojú recognized the independence of Mexico and its right to choose its own ruler. But Iturbide's ambition had been aroused by his easy success. He now aspired to emulate the glories of Napoleon, whom he admired as the successful military leader of revolutionary France. Quickly he had himself proclaimed emperor by the army on May 18, 1822. His empire was short-lived. Within less than a year the patriots who had fought against monarchy rose against him, dethroned him, and sent him into exile to Italy. Early in 1824 he attempted to return and re-establish his empire, but he no sooner landed near Soto la Marina than he was arrested, summarily tried, and executed at Padilla, on July 19. Thus came to his inglorious end the

man who had successfully joined all parties in the struggle for the attainment of independence.

The First Constitution Is Framed. The country desired a federal republic. Its representatives soon met and framed the first constitution of independent Mexico, which was promulgated in October, 1824. It provided for a government modeled after that of the United States. Guadalupe Victoria was inaugurated as the first president. A popular leader who had fought for independence, Victoria was honest, sincere, and tolerant. But his administration was beset by insurmountable difficulties, and he was able to accomplish but little. Business had been completely demoralized, production of silver and gold had practically ceased, and internal dissensions were increased by the strong rivalry of the representatives of Great Britain and the United States. The United States minister to Mexico, Joel R. Poinsett, distinguished son of South Carolina, seemed well fitted to represent his country creditably in Spanish America. He spoke Spanish fluently, was a gentleman to the finger tips, and had fought with the defenders of independence in Chile. But he displayed too great a zeal in aiding the advocates of federalism and soon became so involved in the internal politics of the country that Mexico asked for his recall. The British minister had meddled in politics, also, but he had done it with more tact.

President Victoria seconded Simón Bolívar's call for the first Pan-American Congress at Panama in 1826. When a little later the conference had to adjourn, owing to the unfavorable

climate of Panama, he invited it to reassemble in Mexico. Although this was not accomplished, Mexico continued for many years to press the matter of inter-American co-operation.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES

Victoria succeeded in serving out his term, but the election of his successor in 1828 was contested and gave an opportunity to Antonio López de Santa Anna to rebel in support of the defeated candidate Vicente Guerrero. From this time on Santa Anna was to dominate Mexican politics for a quarter of a century. He was to be on every side of every question, depending on which offered the greatest advantages to himself. Mexico was torn between republicans and monarchists, liberals and conservatives, York-rite and Scottish-rite masons. In this internal strife the threat of foreign aggression was constantly present.

Santa Anna Comes to Power. Four years of chaos followed, and when the smoke cleared Santa Anna had been duly elected president with Valentín Gómez Farías, a sincere and enthusiastic liberal, as vice-president. Farías, in the absence of Santa Anna, who artfully retired to his hacienda Manga de Clavo, proceeded to implement a series of reforms directed to curtail the power of the Church and the vested interests. He suppressed tithes, declared the government had the right to appoint bishops and other dignitaries of the Church, disqualified the clergy from maintaining schools, and closed the national university for its clerical tendencies.

The conservatives alarmed at these

extreme measures appealed to open revolt. Santa Anna, who had watched the excesses of Farias with secret longings, allowed himself to be captured by the rebels and then joined them in order to return to power as the leader of the conservatives. He immediately annulled all the reforms of Farias, suspended the Constitution of 1824, and assumed dictatorial powers. Once more the liberals were ousted, but they promptly staged a new revolution in Zacatecas.

Texas Wins Independence. It was at this time that the Anglo-American colonists in Texas, aided by the liberals, revolted against Santa Anna in defense of the Constitution of 1824. The movement soon became one for complete independence from Mexico and led to the invasion of Texas by Santa Anna, who marched to crush the rebellion early in 1836. After the capture of the Alamo and the massacre of Goliad, the Texans surprised the victorious Mexican army at San Jacinto on April 21, 1836, captured Santa Anna, and gained their independence, setting up a republic which lasted until its annexation to the United States in 1845.

Texas had been opened to colonization in 1820. Under the leadership of Moses Austin and his son Stephen, thousands of Anglo-Americans moved to Texas under the liberal Constitution of 1824 and the terms of the Mexican colonization laws. But misunderstandings soon arose between Mexican authorities and the new settlers. Mutual distrust widened the breach, and when in 1834 Santa Anna assumed dictatorial powers the discontented colonists revolted and suc-

cessfully won their independence from Mexico.

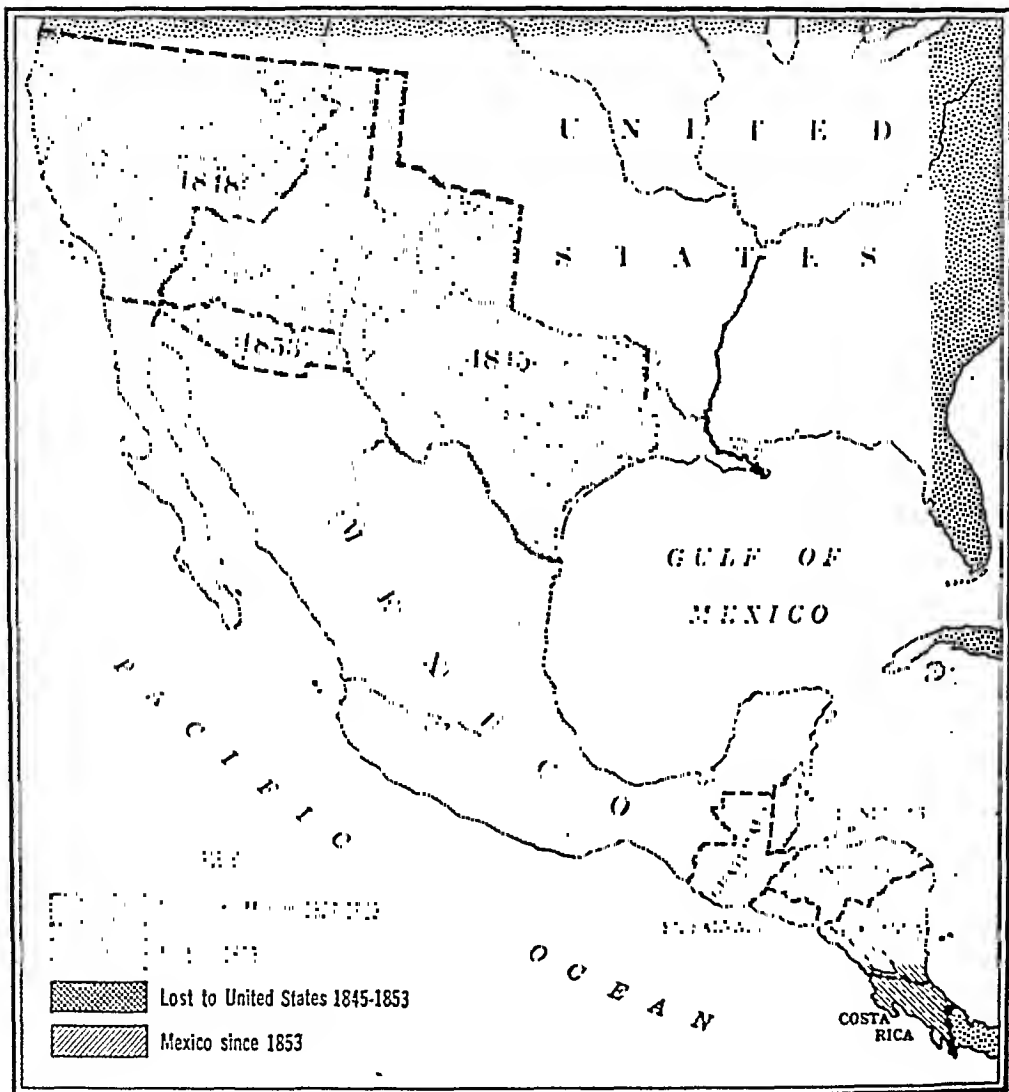
War between Mexico and the United States. The annexation of Texas to the United States—in spite of opposition by anti-slavery leaders and the warning of Mexico that such action would be considered a cause for war—resulted in the outbreak of war in May, 1846. The immediate occasion for hostilities was the dispute over the boundary of Texas, Mexico claiming the Nueces River and the United States the Rio Grande. When a Mexican patrol fired on an American scouting party that had penetrated south of the Nueces, President Polk declared that American blood had been shed on American territory by Mexico, notwithstanding the fact that the area was contested.

Two American armies, one under General Taylor across the Rio Grande and one under General Scott by way of Veracruz, invaded Mexico, and with little opposition eventually captured Mexico City. The war lasted from 1846 to 1848 and was closed by the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo by which the United States acquired not only the territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande but all of present New Mexico, Arizona, and California, as well as a large part of Utah, Nevada, Wyoming, and Colorado, for which Mexico was paid \$15,000,000. In 1853 through the Gadsden Purchase, negotiated with Santa Anna during his last presidency, the United States acquired for \$10,000,000, a strip of Mexican territory near the border because it offered the best route for a railroad across the southern Rockies to the Pacific coast.

THE TRIUMPH OF LIBERALISM

The loss of more than half of its territory did not solve the principal issue that had torn Mexico since the

carry to success the ideals of the liberal party and to defend democracy in Mexico against the might of Napoleon III. This was the iron-willed Benito Juárez.



attainment of independence. The liberal and conservative parties were still struggling for supremacy. The years immediately following the Gadsden Purchase and the last dictatorship of the sinister Santa Anna saw the rise of a new leader who was destined to

The Rise of Juárez. Juárez was a pure-blooded Indian. His parents were peasants who cultivated their own little farm in the state of Oaxaca. At the age of twelve he journeyed to the capital of the state, thirty miles away, and found a home in a Fran-

ciscan monastery. Until then he knew only the tongue spoken by his people. He soon learned Spanish and began his formal studies. His ambition, his determination to get an education, and his bright mind impressed his teachers, who urged him to become a member of the clergy. Events soon determined a different career for him. When the young Indian arrived in the capital of Oaxaca, Iturbide had already fallen and the liberal ideas of Guadalupe Victoria and his party had spread to the distant provinces. Juárez left the monastery and entered the new institute of arts and sciences, where he obtained a degree in law in 1834. He became interested in public affairs and, after holding several local and state offices, he was elected governor of Oaxaca. He found the public treasury empty and the whole state completely disorganized. With characteristic energy he set about its reconstruction. The state debt was paid off, roads were built, discipline in the state police was restored, and education was liberalized. But in 1853 Santa Anna became dictator of Mexico again with the aid of the clergy, the army, and the large landowners. Assuming the title of His Most Serene Highness, one of his first acts was to order the arrest of the liberal governor of Oaxaca. Put in prison in the famous but most foul jail in all Mexico, San Juan de Ulloa, in Veracruz, Juárez was able to escape on an English ship that took him to Habana, from where he went to New Orleans. For two years he lived in dismal poverty, eking out a miserable existence by rolling cigars in a cigar factory.

In New Orleans Juárez received the welcome news of a liberal outbreak in Mexico. He immediately returned to the country and took his place as a member of the cabinet of the new president, Juan Álvarez. He was the author of the law suppressing the special privileges granted to the clergy, published in 1855, and generally known as the Law Juárez. Two years later it was incorporated into the liberal Constitution of 1857. The provisions of this law completely separated the Church and the state. At this time the Church owned, according to some authorities, one half of the farming land of Mexico. It was so rich that it frequently loaned money to the government, and it had complete control of its own affairs. In June, 1856, the Law Lerdo (named after Lerdo de Tejada, its framer and a member of the cabinet) was passed. The new law, which was later made a part of the Constitution of 1857, provided for the sale of the Church lands, the proceeds to revert to the Church.

The archbishop of Mexico declared that all persons who accepted the new constitution would be excommunicated. The new president, Ignacio Comonfort, found himself opposed by the conservatives and was soon forced to flee. Juárez, as president of the Supreme Court, declared himself the legal successor of Comonfort under the provision of the reformed constitution. The country was torn by civil war, and Juárez and his cabinet sought refuge first in Guadalajara and then in Veracruz. The wandering president had to move from place to place with his fleeing government during the next few years, but, as someone has said, wher-

ever he was, there was the Mexican government.

Maximilian Attempts an Empire. The War of Reform, as the struggle is called, lasted until 1861, when Juárez finally returned to Mexico City in triumph. It seemed as if at last he would be free to put into effect the provisions of the liberal Constitution of 1857. But the country was in chaos. Congress was forced to suspend the payment of foreign debts. This gave an excuse to a number of reactionaries to revive the idea of a foreign monarchy as the only solution to the Mexican problem. They sent agents to Europe. Napoleon III, driven by his boundless ambition, agreed to give the renegades an emperor and the aid they sought to establish a throne in Mexico. He found an innocent, well-intentioned, handsome young prince, with a still more charming and ambitious wife, willing to undertake the venture. Maximilian and Carlotta accepted what they thought was an invitation of the Mexican people to become their sovereigns and innocently set out for their new empire, with the assurance of help from Napoleon III and the blessings of the Pope. Little did they suspect that the Mexican people were unalterably opposed to monarchy. They never understood that in the heart of the ignorant Indian dwelt an undying love for freedom and an ardent desire to manage his own affairs. It was a great surprise to Maximilian and Carlotta to discover that the Mexicans had no love for them.

French soldiers soon swarmed over Mexico and easily drove Juárez from the capital northward all the way to El Paso, Texas. But the resolute and

taciturn Indian leader of the people knew that his cause would eventually triumph. When the great war in the United States came to an end in 1865, and France was notified that the presence of her soldiers on Mexican soil was a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, Juárez was encouraged. Napoleon III was prone to listen to the remonstrance, for his star had begun to set. Soon afterwards he recalled his troops. The accumulated war materials of the United States, now that the War between the States was over, were liberally placed at the disposal of Juárez. The ragged army of the unconquerable liberal turned south again. At Querétaro, Maximilian and a few of his faithful supporters were besieged and forced to surrender. Messages came from all over the world asking that the life of the prince of the House of the Hapsburgs be spared. But Juárez and the Mexican court of justice were inexorable. The world must learn the price that misguided monarchs had to pay for attempting to violate republican institutions in Mexico and to destroy the love of democratic principles possessed by the Mexican people. Maximilian and his two leading generals were shot at Querétaro in June, 1867.

The Return of Juárez. The conqueror returned in triumph to Mexico City. His army was in rags, the government was bankrupt, the country completely disorganized, but justice, national honor, and liberty had been reaffirmed. "America has produced two great men," wrote Victor Hugo "thee and Abraham Lincoln." When Secretary of State Seward visited Mexico in 1867 and was leaving the government palace after an inter-

view with Juárez, someone asked him what he thought of the man. Seward replied: "Juárez is the greatest man I have ever seen." Seventy-five years later, when Mexico became an ally of the United States in the greatest fight for freedom the world has ever known, a labor leader of Mexico, Lombardo Toledano, declared:

Between Mexico and the United States there is today a greater alliance than ever before. Our people understand each other as never in the past. Let us remember who has made this unity possible—Juárez and Lincoln. These two sons of the people were humble. They suffered hunger. They rose with great sacrifices, never losing touch with nature. They carried always close to them the love of the soil which gave them birth. They forged with their example the guarantee of liberty for a continent and a world.

Juárez, more fortunate than his great democratic teammate of the North, lived to put into effect many of the reforms for which he had fought so long. The greatest of his reforms was in education. The great task of reforming and organizing the schools of México was entrusted to the Swiss-trained educator Gabino Barreda. Juárez strengthened the executive power and founded a conservative senate as a counterbalance. He maintained discipline in the army and improved finance and economics. He protected foreign capital, fostered irrigation and agricultural improvements, and began the building of Mexico's first railroad, from Veracruz to the capital.

In December, 1867, he was re-elected to the presidency, and again in 1871. But with the danger of foreign aggression removed, dissensions reappeared and insurrections became

common. The Indian president remained as unmoved against domestic foes as he had been against foreign invaders. With characteristic firmness he attempted to suppress all uprisings until the day of his death on July 18, 1872. Juárez was succeeded by a member of his cabinet, Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada, a liberal of considerable ability, who was duly elected in December of that year and served until 1876, when an attempt to re-elect him resulted in a fresh nation-wide outbreak.

The Long Rule of Porfirio Díaz. The new wave of protest brought forth a new leader destined to become the master of Mexico for more than thirty years. This was Porfirio Díaz, who, like Juárez, was from Oaxaca. As early as 1871, this liberal general, who had fought against the French in Puebla, rebelled against the re-election of his former chief, but Juárez succeeded in defeating him and his followers. The opposition decided against the perpetuation in office of Lerdo de Tejada and his party and recognized Porfirio Díaz as the leader. After the defeat of the government forces at the battle of Tecoac in November, 1876, Díaz assumed the presidency and, after putting down all factions, was declared the legal president to serve the unexpired term to 1880.

With a will as firm as that of Juárez, with much greater insight into human nature, and with a firm resolve to maintain peace at all costs and develop the dormant resources of Mexico, Díaz set himself to re-establish law and order, to encourage enterprise and industry, and to put an end to the epidemic of continuous rebellions. A great believer in the observ-

ance of the law, he tried to act in accord with it and during his first four years tempered justice with mercy by adopting exile instead of execution to remove dangerous or ambitious rivals. In 1880 he willingly retired and helped to put in office an old friend under his control, General Manuel González. But after his reelection in 1884, Díaz continued in power until 1911. Mexico had a new master, who with a steady hand guided its destinies and maintained peace at great sacrifice in order to make possible the material development of the country, attract foreign investments, and bring a measure of prosperity to the country. All this was accomplished, however, at the expense of the tenant farmer, the laboring classes, and the exploited Indian.

Díaz felt that the people were tired of reform. As a liberal, he compromised with the Church, making no effort to enforce the stringent reform laws of the Constitution of 1857. He surrounded himself with a group of strong and intelligent men. These men were known as *científicos*, which, literally translated, means "the scientific ones." While this group of "brain-trusters" worked on improved taxation and economic conditions, Don Porfirio kept himself constantly employed with the political question. He seemed to have two mottoes. The first was, "The only good revolutionist is a dead revolutionist"; and the second, "*Poca política, mucha administración*"—"Little politics, careful administration [and I will do the administering]." Foreign capitalists were invited to make investments. The great railroad builders of that

epoch in the United States were encouraged to build railroads from Laredo, Eagle Pass, El Paso, and Brownsville, Texas, to Mexico City. Loans for the improvement of public works were floated in New York, London, and Paris. The monetary system was put on the gold basis. Mexico became a small copy of the United States and the progressive European nations.

Indians were not allowed to wear their native costumes in public in the cities of Mexico. Mexican music and Mexican art were discouraged, while the European arts were encouraged. Political rights were suppressed. The press was muzzled. Opposition was a crime.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1910

On September 16, 1910, Mexico celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the struggle for independence by the humble parish priest Hidalgo. Diplomats from every country in the world crowded the bedecked streets of Mexico City, all enjoying lavish entertainment at the expense of the national treasury. Praise for Don Porfirio was on every tongue—at least on the tongues of the foreigners and the *científicos*. But Mexico itself was far from pleased with this expenditure of money for the glorification of the president. Exactly one month after the celebration came the first indication of impending revolution. The glittering edifice of his glory suddenly crumbled like a pack of cards. By May of the next year, the once all-powerful Don Porfirio knew that the game was up. He slipped out in the dead of night from Chapultepec Castle to the railway station, and with a few friends, made

his way secretly to Veracruz. There he took a waiting ship and sailed away to Europe, never to return. There are people in Mexico City today who, at least figuratively, mount the top of a downtown building and turn their binoculars anxiously out toward the Gulf and the Atlantic. They are looking for Don Porfirio and the glorious days of the past to come again. But their number is rapidly diminishing.

Madero and Huerta. The portly and majestic figure of Díaz was replaced by that of a nervous little man, who seemed always to be waving his hands, always talking about liberty, and always shouting about the future. He was Francisco Madero, one of many brothers, sons of a great landowner in the State of Coahuila. The rest of the family looked upon Francisco with condescension and bewildered amusement. As one of them put it: "We sent Francisco to Paris to learn the language. He didn't learn French, but he succeeded in forgetting Spanish." But Francisco never lost his determination to give Mexico real democracy. He began by agitating for free elections. When he was liberated from the prison in San Luis Potosí, where he had been placed for safekeeping during the celebration of the centennial of Mexican independence, he needed little time to gather about him a motley group of peons, university professors, and cowboys. With the able military leadership of General Abraham González, and of the veteran Pascual Orozco, and with the rollicking bravery of Pancho Villa, the bandit, Madero rapidly made his way to Mexico City. It was when the revolutionists ap-

proached dangerously close that Don Porfirio took the night special to Veracruz.

The little, excited, idealistic Madero now marched into Mexico City and took his place in the big chair formerly occupied by Porfirio Díaz. He had little idea of the details of administration. He did not understand the treachery of the former friends of Díaz, who hastened to protest their utmost loyalty to the new regime. When the crowd gained control of a part of the army and attacked Mexico City, the president inadvertently gave the command of the government forces to General Victoriano Huerta. This unscrupulous military chieftain shamelessly betrayed the unsuspecting man in the National Palace. Francisco Madero, the idealist, and his vice-president, Pino Suárez, were foully assassinated after they had been arrested by Huerta. The crafty old Indian general now (in 1913) assumed command at Chapultepec. For more than a year he ruled with great violence and cruelty.

President Woodrow Wilson, sitting in the White House, was shocked at the terrible scene in Mexico. He refused to recognize Huerta. This enabled Huerta to play up "Yankee imperialism" to maintain himself in the presidential chair. When it was found that a German steamer was about to land with a great supply of munitions for Huerta, Wilson ordered the United States Marines to take Veracruz. The military occupation of this port continued for several months during the year 1914.

Once aroused, the Mexicans were determined not to be cheated in their struggle for reform. Venustiano Car-

ranza, governor of the northern state of Coahuila, rebelled against Huerta. When Carranza gained strength, further difficulties arose between the two countries. War between the United States and Mexico was averted only by mediation offered by the so-called A B C Powers, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. In 1915 the former dignified senator, Venustiano Carranza, was recognized by the United States as president of Mexico. Fighting still continued between various factions. By 1917, however, Carranza was able to call together the leaders of the revolution at Querétaro, the town where Juárez had forever silenced the hopes of Prince Maximilian.

The famous Constitution of 1917 was written at Querétaro. Most of the document followed rather closely the Juárez Constitution of 1857, which, in turn, had been based on the Constitution of the United States. Three famous articles, however, changed the whole complexion of Mexican government. These were Articles 3, 27, and 123. The latter occupied several pages in the printed document and defined in detail the rights of labor. It proved to be so popular that today "Artículo 123" is the name of an important street in Mexico City. Article 3 defined education as a duty of the state and not of the Church or other private agencies. Article 27 dealt with the land, its ownership, its subdivision, and the mineral and oil rights. Here is to be found the very heart and soul of the revolution of 1910 against the dictator Díaz. From the time of the conquistadors the ownership of land by the few had constituted the greatest problem. Independence had ag-

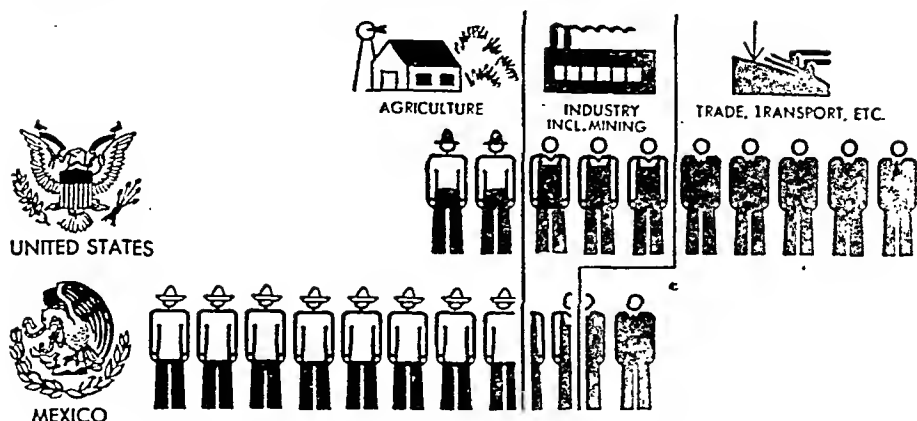
gravated the question. All efforts of the liberals to break up the great landed estates had actually resulted in their enlargement. The greatest complaint against Díaz was that he had abolished the *ejido* (tracts of land belonging to an Indian community), and permitted his friends to take possession of these communal lands of the Indian pueblos, the only thing left to them.

Article 27 provided for the breaking up of these great landed estates and their distribution to the common people. This proved to be an enormous problem. However, by 1935, 7,041 *ejidos* had been restored to 895,284 heads of families. About one third of the land of these *ejidos* was tillable, and the other two thirds was pasturage.

Closely connected with the land problem was that of labor. Most of the great estates counted thousands of peons who worked for the landowners with little possibility of escape. In the cities labor unions had been forbidden. The whole question of free and organized labor was of primary importance to Mexico. Twenty years after Article 123 had been theoretically adopted, most of the modern practices of labor, including the eight-hour day, bargaining between unions and companies, the protection of women and children in industry, and minimum wages had been carried into practice.

From the days of Cortés down to the modern industrialist, foreigners have dominated Mexico. The Constitution of 1917 set certain limits on these privileges—a foreigner owning property in Mexico must agree to have all legal questions in regard

MEXICO IS AN AGRICULTURAL COUNTRY



• Each symbol represents 10% of the total working population

Pictograph Corporation for the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs

to land settled by Mexican courts, and he must promise not to appeal to his own government for adjustment. Since foreigners owned 97 per cent of the petroleum properties in Mexico, the provision concerning subsoil (mineral and oil) rights applied almost solely to them. This provision, copied after an ancient Spanish and Mexican law, stated that all subsoil products belonged to the nation. These limitations immediately brought on strenuous protests from foreign property owners and their governments. It was not until November 19, 1941, with the threat of war hanging over the United States and Mexico, that final adjustments were made concerning the quarrel over the petroleum and land questions.

The Church was affected by several articles in the constitution. It will be remembered that the Constitution of 1857 had confiscated the lands belonging to the Church. The Constitution of 1917 went further and declared that all ecclesiastical property would become the property of the nation.

Church edifices might be used by local congregations who made application to the government for such use. Foreigners were prohibited from exercising the ministry, that is, performing the rites reserved for priest or pastor. These provisions caused as much protest as those limiting the economic rights of the foreigner. After a quarter century of struggle between the Church and the state, peace was declared.

Education in Mexico was profoundly affected by Article 3. The Roman Catholic, Protestant, and other private schools were compelled to submit to government supervision or close their doors. The federal government endeavored to assume the complete responsibility for the education of the children. Many a struggle ensued between the conservatives and liberals concerning the enforcement of Article 3. It will probably be some time before this question is entirely settled. The greatest improvement in Mexico is due, however, to the new developments in edu-

cation. In 1921 the movement for rural schools was begun. The Mexican Educational Mission was developed, whereby some six or eight experts in teaching as many subjects would open an experimental school in a central village. To this school would be invited groups of teachers from neighboring towns for the purpose of entering a month's special training along the lines of socialized education. The rural schools centered their attention on the development of the whole community. Adults as well as children were required to attend. The community was organized for the purpose of improving its agriculture, its roads, its health, and its connections with the outside world. The rural schoolteachers became the protectors of the Indian and the leaders in every good cause.

The most important chief executives since the death of Carranza in 1920 have been Generals Álvaro Obregón, Plutarco Elías Calles, Lázaro Cárdenas, and Manuel Ávila Camacho. Obregón assumed office on December 1, 1920. His administration is best known for bringing a measure of order out of chaos and the development of rural schools. Calles carried through a full four-year term (1924-1928). His administration was noted for a clarification of some of the many difficulties between Mexico and the United States, through the friendship developed between the president and the United States Ambassador, Dwight Morrow. Calles continued his influence in the government following his retirement. When he endeavored to dominate President Cárdenas (1934-1940), he was exiled to the United States.

Cárdenas Befriends Indians and Labor. The social revolution begun in 1910 reached its height under President Cárdenas. He distributed more land than all the other presidents combined. He took the side of labor in various struggles with industrial companies. When the British and North American oil companies refused to accept the demands of their workmen, the president took over their properties and conducted them as a government enterprise. As a friend of the common people, he spent much time traveling in rural sections and consulting with the Indians about their needs. When Loyalist Spain was defeated by Franco, Cárdenas demonstrated his friendship for democracy in the international field by inviting a large number of Spanish refugees to settle in Mexico. Rural education was greatly advanced during the administration of Cárdenas.

With the election of General Ávila Camacho in 1940 *evolution*, rather than the *revolution*, became the popular word. The new president announced a policy of peace with the Church and with the investors of foreign capital, and definitely sought the middle of the road in social reform. In 1942 practically all the long-standing disputes between the United States and Mexico were settled. After a hundred years of almost continuous quarreling, the two countries adopted a policy of close co-operation. Mexico agreed to pay American owners of land and oil properties the sums that an international commission should decide was just for properties that had been expropriated. The United States agreed to loan Mexico the

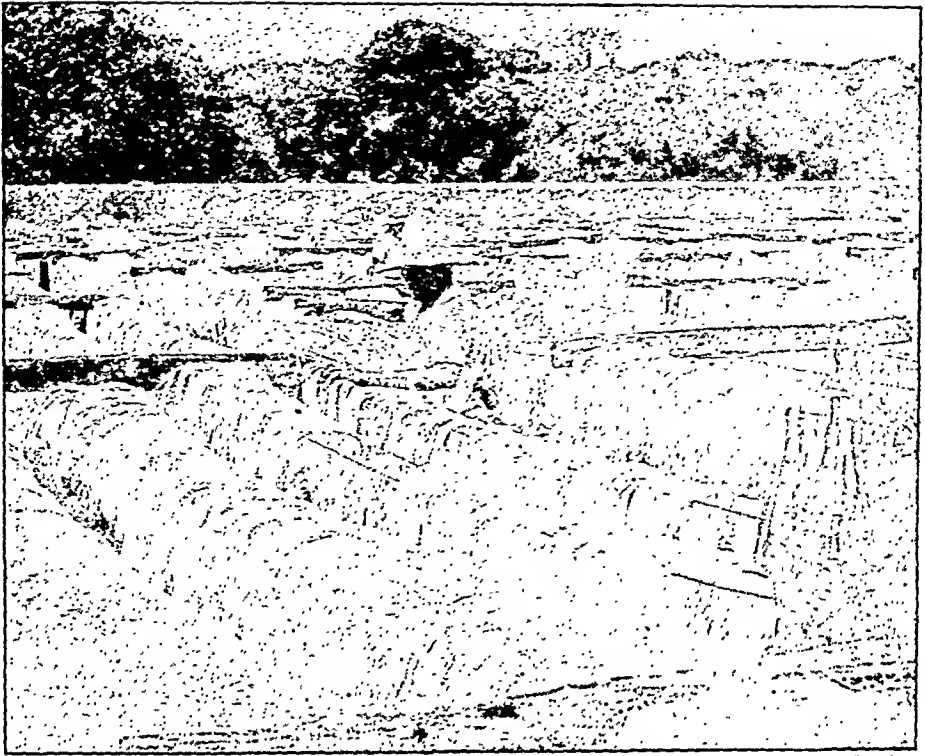


Photo by James Sanders

This is a hemp-drying scene in Yucatán. The henequen plant, from which hemp is made, is allowed to grow for seven years before it is cut. The fleshy part of the plant is run through rollers. The fiber is then dried and shipped.

needed money to finish the Pan-American Highway and to build steel and other factories which would furnish the United States needed war materials. On June 1, 1942, Mexico definitely became an ally of the United States and the other United Nations in the war against the Axis Powers.

Movement for Social Justice. One of the most important events on the American continent during the twentieth century has been the Mexican revolution. Like the upheavals in Turkey, Russia, and China, it has compelled the people to re-think, and reorganize their life. It preceded the

Russian revolution, to which it is often erroneously traced. At the beginning, under the leadership of Madero, it was principally political, but, under the group of progressive young men who surrounded Carranza, it became a social revolution whose basic charter is the Constitution of 1917. It was more than a military revolt. It was a social upheaval, a revolution that has affected the public mind. Probably not since the founding of democracy in the United States has anything more original been undertaken in the New World. A North American capitalistic pattern of life is being reshaped by a

mestizo communal system. Private property and the modern machine are not eliminated but are subordinated to the welfare of the community. The fundamental place of land in Mexican life is being emphasized. Loyalty to native values is superseding foreign imitation.

Climate and Products. Mexico is no less diverse in its physical scene than it is in racial and cultural matters. From snow-capped volcanoes one can descend to narrow, valley bottom lands and coastal lowlands. In the highlands the air is cool even in summer, while in the low-lying regions

the temperature becomes very uncomfortable, especially in summer. To the mining engineer the rich ores of gold, silver, zinc, and copper and the vast oil fields make Mexico a land of golden opportunity. But for farming, Mexico is a relatively poor country, since much of its land is too dry or too mountainous to be easily tilled. The main agricultural crops are corn, beans, cotton, coffee, bananas, and chick peas. Henequen fiber (used in the making of rope) is cultivated in Yucatán and Campeche. More than 100,000 tons of this fiber are produced and exported annually.

TEST YOURSELF!

A. What Is the Time-Order of Important Events in Mexico's History? The events listed in the left-hand column are in the proper time-order, with nine blanks to be filled in from the items in the right-hand column. Select for each blank the event which fits the time-order, and write its letter in the space provided. (*Note: Some of the correct choices can be made by thinking of their logical order, without knowing the exact order from memory.*)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. _____ | a. Madero revolted against Díaz |
| 2. Hidalgo launched the independence movement | b. The United States invaded Mexico |
| 3. _____ | c. Cárdenas gave land to peons |
| 4. Iturbide became emperor | d. Morelos carried on fight for independence |
| 5. _____ | e. Cortés started system of estates |
| 6. Santa Anna became dictator | f. Texas won independence |
| 7. _____ | g. The United States seized Veracruz |
| 8. _____ | h. Juárez executed Maximilian |
| 9. Juárez brought about the Reform of 1857 | i. Mexico copied the United States Constitution |
| 10. _____ | |
| 11. Díaz became president | |
| 12. _____ | |
| 13. _____ | |
| 14. Carranza announced Constitution of 1917 | |
| 15. _____ | |
| 16. Camacho settled oil dispute with United States | |

B. The Problem of the Church. One of the long-standing problems of Mexico concerns the position of the Church. Here are two questions concerning it.

1. In the following list of possible reforms of the Church since Mexico became independent, underline those which are discussed in this chapter:

- a. It should not be supported by taxes (tithes) collected by the government.
- b. It should not have its own schools for children.
- c. It should not have its own army.
- d. Its great estates should be either sold, or given, to the peons.
- e. It should cease to be the official church of Mexico.

2. In the following list of Mexican leaders, underline those who advocated any of the above reforms—that is, were opposed to the power of the Church.

- | | |
|-------------|---------------|
| a. Morelos | e. Díaz |
| b. Iturbide | f. Carranza |
| c. Farías | g. Cárdenas |
| d. Juárez | h. Santa Anna |

C. Mexico and the United States. These two neighbors have had close, but not always harmonious, relations. In the following list of relationships between the two countries, underline those which have been examples of harmony or co-operation. (They are in chronological order.)

1. Relationship between the United States Constitution and the Mexican Constitution of 1824.
2. Ambassador Poinsett's activities in Mexican politics.
3. The relationship of United States settlers in Texas to their Mexican president.
4. The boundary between Texas and Mexico.
5. The terms of peace in 1848.
6. The policies of the two governments towards Maximilian.
7. Wilson's decision in regard to Veracruz.
8. Wilson's policy toward Carranza's claim to the presidency.
9. United States oil wells and the 1917 Constitution.
10. The policies of the two governments toward World War II.

D. Correspondence or Class Assignments

1. Why is the Mexican revolution of 1910 called "one of the most important events on the American continent during the twentieth century"? Select at least three reasons, and explain each in a short paragraph.

2. Compare Juárez with Lincoln, including such points as background, education and achievements.

3. Explain in detail the reasons for this statement about Mexico and the United States: "After a hundred years of almost continuous quarreling, the two countries adopted a policy of close co-operation."

Note: Do not forget to send for the End-of-Course Test, which you will take after completing this Course. See the instructions on "How to Use This Book."

Also, how is the Course Essay coming along?

E. Suggestions for Extra Reading

Chase, Stuart, *Mexico* (the entire book).

Gunther, John, *Inside Latin America*, Ch. 3-7.

Herring, Hubert, *Good Neighbors*. Ch. 7.

Inman, Samuel Guy, *Latin America, Its Place in World Life*. Ch. 20.

Stewart and Peterson, *Builders of Latin America*. Ch. 15 (Díaz); Ch. 21 (Cárdenas).

Williams, M. W., *People and Politics of Latin America*. Ch. 20.

X. CENTRAL AMERICA

In few places has geography so dominated politics and foreign intrigue as in Central America. This is because of three especially attractive routes for uniting the Atlantic and the Pacific—Panama, Nicaragua, and the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. The six republics of Central America, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and newly added Panama stretch 1,200 miles from the southern border of Mexico to Colombia. They are of utmost interest to the United States. Even though they are sparsely settled for the most part, they constitute one of the most important strategic areas of the world and are becoming increasingly valuable economically. They lie wholly within the tropics. Their rich soil and abundant rainfall make them a source of much agricultural wealth.

In colonial days, five of the divisions of Central America which are now republics were under the one Viceroyalty of Guatemala. Panama was then a part of the province which we now know as Colombia. The independence of the provinces of the captaincy general of Guatemala was secured without great effort in 1821, and in 1823 they formed the United Provinces of Central America. Unfortunately local jealousies did not permit the continuance of the federation, which was dissolved by an

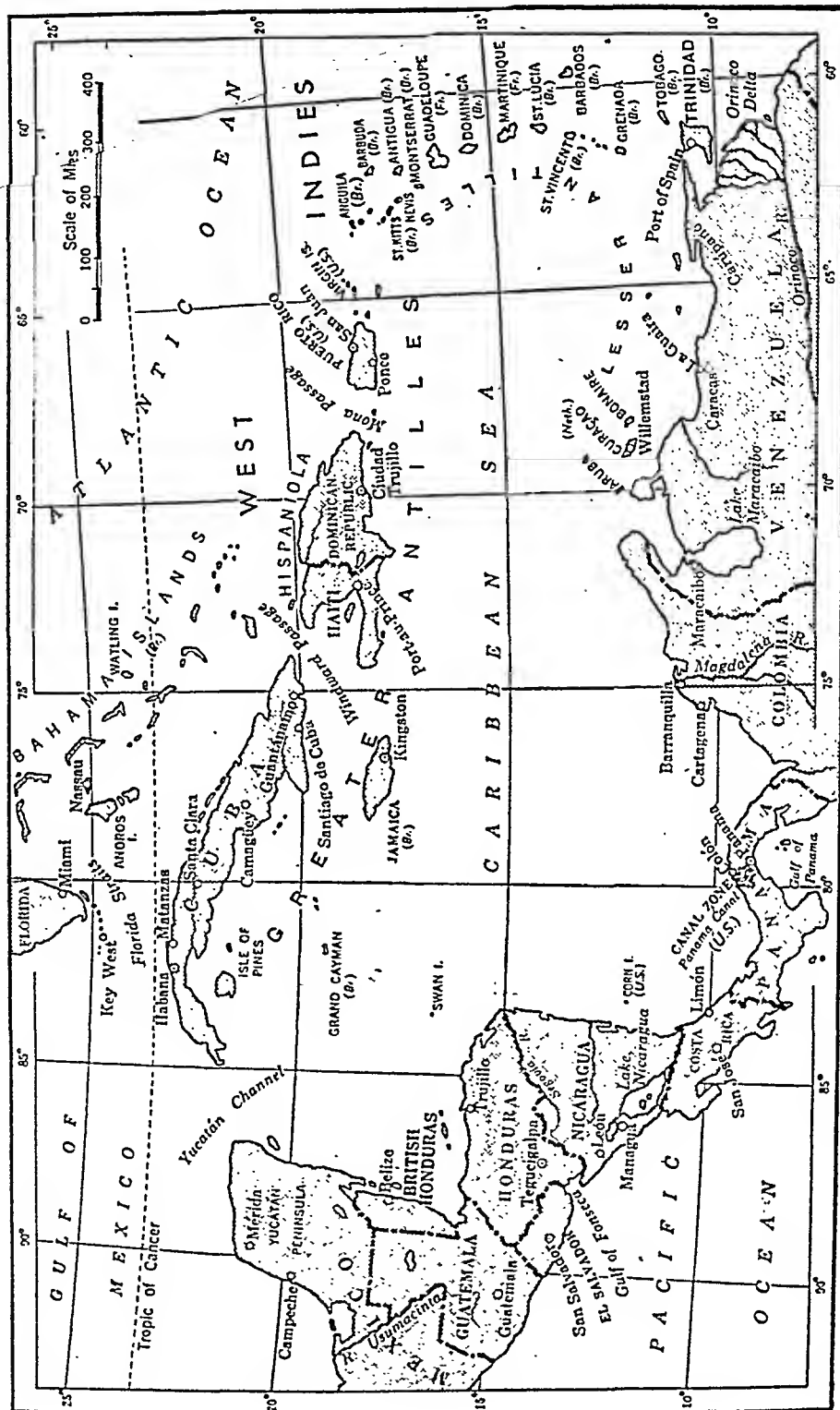
act of its own Congress on May 30, 1838.

Ever since that date the most discussed subject is that of the reunion of these countries. Jealousy among local politicians and intrigues of foreign countries have prevented the success of this effort. But the Central American countries are coming closer together. Their ultimate union now seems easier of attainment.

GUATEMALA

Guatemala is the largest in territory and population of the Central American republics. Its people are overwhelmingly Indian. Its gorgeous landscapes, snow-capped mountains, and picturesque lakes make it a mecca for visitors. Politically it has suffered much from despotic rulers, and has, at times, not escaped the imperialistic desires of Mexico, its northern neighbor. It in turn has often endeavored to impose its will on its smaller neighbors to the south.

Politics. Guatemala's story from 1838, when the Central American confederation broke up, revolves around four powerful rulers. The first of these was a forceful Indian youth named Rafael Carrera, who governed first as the head of the army and later, in 1844, as the president. Carrera built up a strong following among the conservatives. When an



The republics of Central America and the West Indies today.

epidemic of cholera swept the country in 1837, he capitalized on a story that the liberals had poisoned the wells to kill off the natives and prepare for a Protestant invasion from Great Britain. Under Carrera, Guatemala had a period of relative tranquillity. He was an absolute ruler. In 1847 he was compelled to retire from power. Two years later, however, he came back supported by the devotion of a well-paid army, the masses of Indians who were blindly devoted to him, and the conservative property owners, both native and foreign. His grudge against the liberals was carried across national borders when he upset liberal regimes in El Salvador and Honduras. In 1851 he was elected president for life and served in that office until his death in 1865.

The second strong man was Justo Rufino Barrios. Overturning the conservative president, Vicente Cerna, in 1871, he initiated a liberal regime comparable to the one of Benito Juárez in Mexico. The building of railroads initiated prosperity, and the development of schools gave hope to the people. But he ruled with an iron hand. His defeat came in the same way as did that of other Central American leaders—in an effort, in 1885, to bring about the union of the five republics.

General Barrios had the gift of surrounding himself with competent men. He brought teachers from Spain and South America. He journeyed to Europe and returned by way of the United States, where he signed an agreement with President Grant for the building of a railroad to connect Guatemala, through Mexico, with the

United States. Impatient for reforms, he ruled despotically. He was killed while at war with El Salvador in an effort to bring about the union of the Central American republics.

Manuel Estrada Cabrera, eleven years after the death of General Barrios, succeeded in making himself dictator. He ruled from 1893 to 1920. He lacked the culture and vision of the great Barrios. He was of strong Indian blood, like his neighbor dictator, Porfirio Díaz, whom he imitated in his policy of co-operation with the United States. But he never developed the finer qualities of Díaz, which brought to the side of the Mexican ruler the intellectuals and the efficiency experts. His last years were spent as a virtual prisoner in a fortress near Guatemala City, hated by large numbers of his fellow citizens whom he had ruined.

Jorge Ubico was a general, as had been his predecessors, when he assumed power in 1931. He initiated reforms along the lines of other modern dictators. Modern roads, provisions against graft, social-insurance laws, and promotion of education were among his projects. He fostered a new constitution which provided for his continuance in power, six years after his re-election in 1937.

Commerce and Climate. Guatemala finds its main support in the export of coffee and bananas. Much cotton and sugar are also produced. It has a good railway system which connects the Atlantic and the Pacific, as well as its northern and southern borders with Mexico and El Salvador respectively. Since the completion of the Pan-American Highway, the country has a total of 3,000 miles of splen-

did roads, which add to its many other attractions for tourists. Guatemala City, the capital, is 5,000 feet above sea level, with a delightful climate, attractive hotels, and interesting Indian markets.

Guatemala is the chief commercial country of Central America. It has an Atlantic seaboard of 70 miles and a Pacific coast line of 200 miles. About two thirds of the country—the western and southern areas—is mountainous and volcanic. The altitude of the towns is from 1,000 to 8,000 feet, and the climate is healthful and of an even, spring-like warmth. The coast lands and northern region, low-lying and tropical, are covered with dense vegetation. There are two seasons—wet, from May to October, and dry, from November to April. The mean annual temperature in the *tierra caliente*, or lowlands, is about 80° F., and that of the *templada* about 58° F. The winter months are 6 to 12 degrees cooler than the hot months of March and April. The Cordillera of the Andes is towards the Pacific coast. Of the numerous volcanoes only two are still active. Fuego (12,581 feet), long extinct, erupted once more in 1932 and is still smoking.

HONDURAS

The word *Honduras* signifies "the depths." During the first years of the country's independence, the name did not seem inappropriate. Dominated by its overwhelmingly more populous neighbors, Guatemala and El Salvador, Honduras suffered continuous interference from them. It has, like Belgium, been declared a neutral country in efforts to protect it from its neighbors. Honduras has also been

subject to peculiarly severe exploitation by foreign capital. A loan was floated in London in 1865 to build a railroad from the sea to the capital. In 1942 the line had not yet been completed. Not more than a tenth of the loan of £500,000,000 has ever reached Honduras.

Politics. The great leader of Honduras was Francisco Morazán. For an analysis of his character we are indebted to the distinguished traveler and diplomat from the United States, John L. Stephens. This talented gentleman, who traveled in and wrote widely about Central America, described Morazán as "the best man in Central America." He was the leader of the Central American Federation, a man of advanced ideas even in the year 1821, when he joined in the declaration of independence from Spain. He sought aid from England to set up schools for the common people. He copied laws from the United States. But the barbarous hordes led by the Guatemalan conservative Carrera, the fanaticism of other leaders, the lack of communications, and the general backwardness of economic and social life hounded this great man to his death in 1842. He was killed in Costa Rica in a last supreme effort to bring about the re-establishment of the Central American Federation.

The political history for the next seventy-five years was one of continual armed struggle. In 1911, when the government was overthrown by Manuel Bonilla, the United States called a conference of revolutionary leaders aboard the U. S. S. *Tacoma* to restore order. Bonilla was allowed to retain the presidency. At Bonilla's death, in



Photo from Ewing Galloway

This young Guatemalan is called a *chiclero*, because it is his business to tap the sapodilla tree for the sap from which chewing gum is made.

1913, Dr. Francisco Bertrand, the vice-president, succeeded him, ruling from 1913 to 1920. In 1933 a strong man, General Tiburcio Carias Andino, became president. Like General Ubico of Guatemala, he had the constitution changed to authorize him to continue in office beyond his regular term.

Economic and Social Status. Honduras has about one million people. Its backwardness is due to its isolation and to the fact that its political life has been continually upset. It has been drawn into practically every one of the numerous Central American wars. Lack of adequate means of transportation is another reason for its slow progress. The airplane has had a remarkable influence in advancing the life of the people in the last ten years. The main agricultural products of Honduras are bananas, corn, cacao, tobacco, and coffee. Mahogany, gold, and silver are important exports.

EL SALVADOR

El Salvador is unique for several reasons. It is the most densely populated country on the American mainland. It is the only Central American country facing entirely on the Pacific. It is especially strong in its foreign policy and in 1920, before joining the League of Nations, asked the United States for a definition of the Monroe Doctrine. It is the only American republic that ever asked to be taken into the United States as a free and sovereign state. The occasion of this remarkable petition was when the ill-fated Emperor Iturbide of Mexico threatened to add Central America to his proposed empire. In these days of world tension the following paragraph

of the appeal which El Salvador made at that time is worth recalling:

You, heroic people of North America, you who also suffered for long years servitude and oppression, who gained your liberty, making for yourselves laws which have made you prosperous and happy; you who see in every man a brother and in every American a being worthy of your help—do not deny us our desire, admit us to your Union, grant protection to a people who have long suffered oppression and whose aim is to be free.

By Act of Congress, El Salvador declared its annexation to the United States of America on November 22, 1822, confirmed by the Decree of December 2 of the same year. The Act of Annexation and the Decree were sent with the appeal to the Congress of the United States by two special envoys and members of Congress, Juan Manuel Rodríguez and Manuel José Arce. The Emperor Iturbide protested this move to the United States, and the Congress rejected the petition. Meanwhile Iturbide's empire crumbled and the Central American Federation was established. The Salvadorean patriot, Manuel José Arce, was elected its first president and was recalled from his mission in the United States to take the leadership of the new confederation.

After independence was declared, the great Salvadorean José Simón Cañas was sent as representative to the Congress of the Confederation from El Salvador. He was in extremely poor health at the time, but he accepted the appointment in order that he might present personally to the Congress a motion. He said, in part:

If I were dying, even, I would come, to present a motion beneficial to helpless humanity, with all the energy that a

representative of the people should display, in promoting matters of great interest to the welfare of the country and to society. I move that before any business of the day be transacted this Congress declare our brothers, the slaves, free citizens.

This motion was carried unanimously, and the words of Cañas were so inspiring and sincere that no one in Central America asked any indemnification whatever for freeing the slaves, despite the fact that there was such a provision in the act itself. This was accomplished some forty years before the Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln.

The last president of the Central American Federation was General Francisco Morazán of Honduras. In his will he left his ashes to El Salvador. Today they rest in the cemetery of the city of San Salvador.

Politics. From 1842-1845, El Salvador was united to Nicaragua and Honduras. In 1846 Eugenio Aguilar, a liberal, was made president. But he could not retain his seat because of the opposition of the clergy. Francisco Dueñas, in 1852, endeavored to introduce financial and educational betterment. Constant interference on the part of Carrera and other dictators of Guatemala and backward economic conditions delayed progress. In 1880 a new constitution was approved under President Rafael Zaldívar, who was elected for a second term. From 1895 to 1898 the country was again united with its neighbors, Honduras and Nicaragua.

Six presidents ruled El Salvador from 1911 to 1942. Along with political disturbances it was a period of progress. In 1931 a revolution placed General Maximiliano Hernández Mar-

tínez in power. In spite of his professorial appearance and a certain interest in the welfare of the laboring classes, he displayed a strong arm on occasion. An uprising that he claimed was started by Communists in 1932 was put down with great cruelty. Because the country resigned from the League of Nations in 1937, purchased planes from Italy, recognized the government of Manchukuo, and stopped immigration from the Near East, it was reported that the government favored the Axis powers. However, following the outbreak of the second World War, El Salvador showed a desire to co-operate with the United States. Along with the other Central American countries, it declared war on the Axis powers in December of 1941. A new constitution was adopted in 1939, which extended President Martínez' term until 1945.

Since the establishment of the republic El Salvador has progressed steadily. In 1841 the University of El Salvador was founded. All education is secular, with primary and higher education equally free. The former is compulsory. Although the people are Roman Catholic for the most part, the separation of Church and state occurred in 1886, and there is complete freedom of worship in the country. Boundary disputes have been settled amicably, and El Salvador is on friendly terms with its neighbors.

Products and Industries. This agricultural land finds its main wealth in the high quality of its coffee, which represents about 90 per cent of the country's exports. Other exports include balsam — erroneously known as "balsam of Peru," because in the colonial days Spain routed exports by

way of Peru — sugar, indigo, and henequen (the fibers of which are used to make binder twine). However, in the last few years El Salvador has taken on an industrial aspect: the textile and shoe industries export their wares to the neighboring countries; the industry of henequen bags (for the shipment of agricultural products) is well established. Textile mills supply an important part of the local needs. Pharmaceutical products of standard quality are now being manufactured. Mining is also an important factor in El Salvador's economic life. Gold, silver, and coal form the principal mineral deposits. There are other products which will surely attract the tourist but which cannot be classed as industries: articles woven from fibers, saddles, earthenware, leather goods, and silk goods from native looms. In normal times El Salvador imports chiefly from the United States, Great Britain, and Germany.

The Republic of El Salvador is one of the smallest in the Western Hemisphere, containing only slightly more than 13,000 square miles. It is one thirteenth the area of Central America and about the size of the state of Maryland. Its population of 1,750,000 gives it a density of 133 to the square mile, as compared with 42 to the square mile in the United States. The section of the Pan-American Highway through El Salvador is an all-paved road which has been in use for some time.

NICARAGUA

The whole history of Nicaragua revolves around the possibilities of the construction of a trans-isthmian canal. First, a few words about its geography

are necessary. The east coast is a wild region, completely separated from the main section of the republic, which is centered in the west. Great Britain and other foreign countries used the Mosquito Indians and other portions of the backward population on the Gulf of Mexico side to plot against the capital at Managua. The San Juan River, bounding Costa Rica and Nicaragua, is the only approach to the east coast. The proposed canal route would bring ships from the Gulf of Mexico up the San Juan River to the great Lake Nicaragua. From the west bank of this lake it is only about twenty-two miles to the Pacific Ocean.

A review of the hundred years of Nicaraguan history is difficult without making it a mere catalogue of dictators and intrigues with foreign powers. When the Central American Federation broke up in 1838, the country adopted its own constitution and started on the precarious road of self-government. As early as 1841 President Pablo Benigno had a dispute with Great Britain concerning the sovereignty of the San Juan River. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 was an agreement that neither the United States nor Great Britain would seek exclusive control over any future canal.

William Walker. The famous William Walker with his band of adventurers arrived in Nicaragua in 1855. Walker, who was born in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1824, was a man with some education and broad experience. He was a self-appointed agent of the United States to enlarge its territory. He had led an expedition to the northwestern part of Mexico but was defeated in his idea of declaring that region independent. He turned up in

Nicaragua in 1855 with fifty-seven men. These were soon increased to several hundred. He attacked the town of Rivas, from which, however, he was compelled to withdraw. Later he returned to battle, defeated the so-called Legitimist forces, and marched against their stronghold, the city of Granada. He entered into negotiations with the Granada leaders and set up Patricio Rivas as president. He had himself appointed commander of the army. Walker then re-enforced his army with more North American adventurers. When General Corral, then secretary of war, plotted against him, Walker had Corral arrested and shot. He declared himself president of Nicaragua, legalized slavery, executed two North American traitors, and confiscated the property of the enemy. Gradually he antagonized all the Central American states. He also made the mistake of quarreling with the managers of the Transit Company, the American corporation which had the concession of transit across the Isthmus. As a result, he lost their help in the transportation of soldiers and supplies. Hard pressed by the united Central American forces, Walker was defeated and eventually surrendered to the commander of an American warship (1857). Three years later, when he returned to Honduras, he was taken prisoner by a captain of the British Navy and was surrendered to the Honduran authorities. He was tried and executed on September 12, 1860. Thus ended the noted filibuster's efforts to lengthen the lifeline of the United States by expansion in the Central American area.

The United States Takes a Hand.
No sooner had Walker been disposed

of than opposing factions were again at each other's throats. In 1893 there appeared a brilliant young liberal, José Santos Zelaya, who dominated the republic from 1894 to 1909. His methods gradually became dictatorial because of constant revolts on the part of the conservative party. Zelaya also interfered in the affairs of neighboring states. The United States disliked the tactics of Zelaya and feared that he would not favor a concession to this country for building a canal. Consequently, when a revolution was started against the dictator, the United States intervened to back Juan Estrada, who became president. Intervention — that is, the policy of sending soldiers to protect United States interests in certain Latin-American countries — became the rule during this period. From that time until 1933, with the exception of a brief period of time, a strong guard of United States marines was kept in Managua, the capital. During those years the presidents of Nicaragua were usually chosen with the advice of the United States. Such a president was Adolfo Díaz, who was inaugurated on May 11, 1911, and who was maintained in office during his presidential term by the help of the United States. In 1914 the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty, which gave the United States the privilege of building an inter-oceanic canal, was signed.

In the next election General Emiliano Chamorro, the joint author of the treaty, was chosen president, again with the help of the United States, and served until 1921. In 1925 Chamorro led a revolution against President Carlos Solórzano and unseated him. The United States refused to recognize the new government and forced

elections to be held. As a result, Adolfo Díaz again became president. The famous rebel, Agustino Sandino, started a revolution in the jungles of the east coast and proved too difficult for the United States marines to capture. In 1932 Dr. Sacasa was elected to the presidency and served a four-year term. General Anastasio Somoza, head of the national guard, which had been trained by the marines, juggled himself into the presidency in 1936. In the meantime, Sandino had agreed to work with the government. However, in 1937 he was waylaid and assassinated as he was leaving President Somoza's residence. Although President Hoover had announced his intention of withdrawing the marines from Nicaragua, they were not fully retired until 1933, under President Roosevelt's administration.

Economic and Social Development. In the population of Nicaragua, which numbers about 650,000, there is a great deal of racial intermixture. This has resulted in less inequality between classes than in some other countries of Latin America. Granada is the center of wealth, the home of the wealthy planters, while the rival city, León, is the liberal center, where there are large numbers of writers, teachers, and students. The chief industries are agriculture and mining. The major commercial products are coffee, bananas, gold, cotton, lumber, hides, and skins.

COSTA RICA

Costa Rica is outstanding, not only in Central America, but in all Spanish America for its splendid record in democracy and education. It joined the Central American Federation in 1821,

but was in and out of that unsteady union until its extinction in 1838.

Political Developments. In 1830 President Juan Rafael Mora inaugurated economic and governmental reforms. In 1838, when independence was declared, Braulio Carrillo became president. His government was overthrown by General Francisco Morazán in an effort again to restore the Central American Federation. Carrillo was captured and shot by his enemies. Costa Rica entered a period of anarchy similar to her sister republics, which lasted until 1849 when former President Mora again took office. He restored order and initiated reforms. A half-dozen presidents ruled between 1859 and 1870, when a strong-arm government was initiated by Tomás Guardia. He imposed a new centralized constitution in December, 1871, which has been only slightly changed since then. Guardia died in 1882, while president. Clericals and liberals swapped power from then until the election of Bernardo Soto in 1886, and Rafael Iglesias y Castro in 1894, when the country began to enter its modern period. One of the youngest presidents, Alfredo González Flores, in 1914, initiated reforms in regard to the banana and oil industries. He was soon overthrown. The United States refused to recognize the next president, Federico Tinoco, on the basis of the rule of the State Department that governments securing power by revolution were not acceptable to Washington. The grand old man, Ricardo Jiménez Oreamundo, was elected president in 1910, in 1924, and in 1932. When the populace clamored for another term in 1936, he threatened to call out the



Photo from Ewing Gallery

Raising bananas has become a big business in Costa Rica and other Caribbean countries. Most of the bananas are shipped to the United States.

police to prevent demonstrations in favor of his candidacy.

León Cortés Castro succeeded Jiménez in 1936. His program embraced economic stabilization, anti-communism, and a general improvement of agricultural conditions. The properties of the Electric Bond and Share Company of New York were expropriated, with indemnity to the company. A tax expert from Chile was engaged. A Board of Agricultural Co-operation was organized. The forty-year boundary dispute with Panama was settled.

On May 1, 1940, President Rafael Angel Calderón Guardia began his term, which was later extended by

congress from four to six years. He announced close co-operation with the United States. Simultaneously with the United States, Costa Rica declared war on the Axis when Japan attacked Hawaii.

Social and Economic Life. The country's first thought has been about education, public health, and public works. Costa Rica is a democracy, with the three branches of government, executive, legislative, and judicial. The president may not succeed himself, nor can any relative of the president succeed him in the office. The citizens not only have the right to vote but must do so under penalty

of a fine. The population, which is distinctly white, lives for the most part on small plantations in relative prosperity.

Agriculture is the main industry in Costa Rica. Coffee, bananas, cacao, lumber, and honey are the main farm products that are exported. Gold, mineral earths, tuna fish, and hides are other products that are exported.

PANAMA

Panama was a part of Colombia until the revolution of 1903, which separated it from the motherland. It has always had a certain amount of autonomy. In 1830 a revolution temporarily established Panama's independence, but the country soon returned to Colombia. The most important event in the life of Panama was the building of a railway by United States engineers across the isthmus in 1855. At that time there was much rivalry between the United States and Great Britain concerning the canal route.

Early Plans for a Canal. The digging of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama was first planned by the Spaniards in early colonial history. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 provided for a canal to be constructed by private capital and controlled by Great Britain, the United States, and such other powers as might unite in guaranteeing its complete neutrality. The organization of a French company by De Lesseps and the prospect of speedy construction of a canal by the French led to a change in the policy of the United States. This change was announced by President Hayes, when he declared in 1880 that any canal that might be constructed between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans should be

under the control of the United States; and that such a canal should be considered "a part of the coast line of the United States."

But Great Britain refused to waive her rights as provided in the treaty. She was asked to reconsider the whole matter. At last, after many struggles and changes, a new treaty was drawn up on November 1, 1901. This new document (the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty) repealed in express terms the Clayton-Bulwer agreement. It provided that the United States might construct a canal and have "the exclusive management and policing of it."

After the French had abandoned the project, the United States decided to select the Panama route in preference to the route through Nicaragua, which had also been the subject of consideration. In January, 1903, the United States signed an agreement with the Colombian representative in Washington promising to pay \$10,000,000 cash and an annuity of \$250,000 for the lease of a strip of land six miles wide across the isthmus. The United States was so anxious to have the canal built immediately that Colombia was warned that the treaty must be passed without any amendment or delay.

Panama's Independence Is Secured. The Colombian Congress rejected the treaty by the unanimous vote of the senate. President Theodore Roosevelt later declared that this action was due to the "anti-social spirit" of Colombia and the greed of the government leaders. However, the United States Minister had repeatedly warned his government that there was a "tremendous tide of public opinion against the canal treaty." The people of Co-

lombia felt that Panama was their greatest asset. They knew that, in spite of his threats, President Roosevelt was determined not to take the Nicaragua route. Consequently, they opposed the treaty, hoping to get better terms and reserve more control over the isthmus.

The people of Panama considered that the failure of Colombia to sign the treaty was a sacrifice of their interests. Dr. Amador Guerrero visited the United States and conferred with various important men concerning the advisability of Panama's revolting. The Secretary of State, one of those men consulted, was of course guarded in his replies but outlined what he considered the rights and duties of the United States under the Treaty of 1846 by which we had the right to intervene in Panama to prevent disorders if they interfered with free transit across the isthmus.

Soon after Dr. Guerrero returned to Panama, the United States gunboat *Nashville* arrived off Colón. Three other warships had received orders to proceed "within easy distance of the isthmus, in the event of need arising." Two days after the Colombian Congress had adjourned, orders were cabled to the American naval commanders to keep the transit open and to "prevent the landing of any armed force with hostile intent, either government or insurgent, at any point within fifty miles of Panama." It can hardly be denied that the situation thus created was very favorable to revolution.

The revolutionists were slow in taking advantage of their opportunities, seemingly causing some impatience in Washington. At 3:40 p.m., November 3, the following dispatch was sent

to the American consuls at Panama and Colón: "Uprising on Isthmus reported. Keep Department promptly and fully informed. Loomis, Acting." At 8:15 p.m., a reply was received from Consul Ehrman at Panama: "No uprising yet. Reported will be in the night. Situation is critical." At 9:50 p.m., a second dispatch was received from the same source: "Uprising occurred tonight; 6; no bloodshed. Army and Navy officials taken prisoners. Government will be organized tonight."

The few Colombian troops on the isthmus were re-embarked after their officers had appraised the situation. United States Marines, landed from the gunboat *Nashville*, maintained order. Just four days later the United States Government recognized the Republic of Panama. A week later the minister of the Panama Republic, being in Washington when appointed, was received by President Roosevelt.

The President justified his course in a special message to Congress on January 4, 1901. He held that Colombia was not entitled "to bar the transit of the world's traffic across the isthmus," and that the intervention of the United States was justified: (1) by our treaty rights; (2) by our national interests; (3) by the interests of collective civilization.

Problems in the Canal Zone. The agreement made between the United States and Panama provided, not for the sale, but for the lease for 99 years, of the ten-mile wide Canal Zone strip to the United States. The tendency of the latter country to consider the zone as its complete property was to raise many questions. There were other points of difference as to how

far the United States, in order to assure the protection of the canal, should intervene in the affairs of Panama. At first, the military authorities in the zone assumed it was their business to keep order, suppress revolutions, and supervise the elections in Panama proper. This led to the early disbanding of Panama's small army and the maintenance merely of a police force for the punishment of minor offenses.

Another problem was that of trade rivalries. Government commissaries sold goods to employees of the canal at greatly reduced prices. Panamanians tended to buy their goods in the commissaries in the zone, rather than in those on their side of the street which was the dividing line between the two governments in the cities of Panama and Colón. Speaking for their merchants, the Panamanian officials constantly protested against commissaries selling to outsiders. The zone authorities made efforts to limit sales to their own employees. But such a situation is not easily controlled and continues to be a bone of contention.

The question of efficient sanitation was from the first a fruitful source of disagreement. The failure of the French was due chiefly to their inability to control yellow fever and malaria. The success of the United States, on the other hand, was due in a considerable degree to the rigid control of the breeding places of the yellow-fever mosquito. In order to carry out this process, as well as other sanitary measures for the control of malaria, the whole territory had to be patrolled. In 1905 Panama officially turned over to the great health authority, Dr. William C. Gorgas, of

the Canal Zone, the right to control health measures in the Panamanian cities of Panama and Colón. Only with such sweeping authority was Dr. Gorgas enabled to make the remarkable health record which even today ranks as one of the world's greatest miracles of sanitary engineering.

Panama Asks the United States to Intervene. Party strife broke out in 1908 when a coalition of liberals and conservatives opposed President Guerrero's attempt to place Ricardo Arias in office as his successor. Both parties asked that an American commission be appointed to listen to electoral complaints, but the Guerrero government had joined in this request only because of diplomatic pressure. Arias soon afterward withdrew his candidacy. In 1912 a similar situation arose. This time, however, it was complicated by the fact that the liberals had a majority in congress and could thus control the electoral machinery, while the government forces could count on the police. Under these circumstances both sides asked for American supervision. A committee of high American officials, with more than two hundred assistants, took charge of the election. But before the voting took place, the administration party withdrew entirely from the election, claiming that it had not received fair treatment. Dr. Belisario Porras, the leader of the liberal party, became president. Since he refused to accept United States supervision of the election of 1916, the opposition refused to take part in it. His successor died after two years in office, and Porras was again elected acting president. This took place, however, only after a violent controversy during which

United States troops took over the policing of Panama City and Colón. This taking over of the police powers climaxed a series of difficulties such as clashes, ending in fatalities, between the police and United States soldiers or sailors. At the same time that the police force was reformed, the United States insisted on reforms in the government's financial administration. In 1918 a law was passed providing for the appointment of a "fiscal agent," to be selected with the help of the United States, who was to be a sort of financial adviser and controller.

Rodolfo Chiari, a political associate of Dr. Porras, became president in 1924. His government signed a new treaty with the United States on July 28, 1926. This contained a number of important provisions, such as the one which stated that Panama was to cede a part of Colón to the United States and receive in return financial aid in the construction of a highway across the isthmus. Article XI of the treaty provided that Panama would consider itself in a state of war whenever the United States became involved in any hostilities. There was much opposition in the Panamanian Congress to these two proposals, and the ratification of the treaty was defeated. By this time there was beginning to be some change in the Caribbean policy of the United States, and this was reflected in the increased amount of responsibility which was left to the Panamanian authorities. After 1918 elections were conducted without United States interference or supervision. After 1922 the powers of the United States Inspector General of Police and of the fiscal agent were

somewhat curtailed. Until 1931, however, it was taken for granted that any serious disorder or attempted revolution would be suppressed at once by the United States.

Recent Relations with the United States. There was growing discontent with political conditions in Panama. On January 2, 1931, a group of opponents of the president seized control of Panama City. There was some fighting, in which several policemen were killed, but the United States did not intervene. In 1932 Harmodio Arias, one of the leaders of the revolution, became president. Adjustments were made in a manner satisfactory to Panama when Arias visited the United States in 1933, but a new dispute arose in 1934. When the United States decreased the gold content of the dollar and attempted to pay the canal annuity in the new currency, Panama would not accept payment on such a basis.

A new treaty, signed at Washington on March 2, 1936, dealt with this matter and made important concessions to Panama's national pride and her material interests. Her independence was no longer formally guaranteed by the United States. The United States Government gave up its right to intervene for the purpose of maintaining order in Panama City and Colón, and gave up the right to take additional land outside the zone for canal purposes. Article X of the new treaty provided that in case of war or threat of aggression the two governments would act to protect their common interests and would enter into consultations regarding measures considered necessary by either government.

The election in which the successor of Harmodio Arias was chosen in 1936 was one of the most closely contested in the history of Panama. The official candidate, Juan Demostenes Arosemena, was declared ineligible, but was finally elected. In the election of 1940, the government candidate was Dr. Arnulfo Arias, brother of Harmodio Arias. A few months after his election the constitution was suspended. The opponents of the government accused the president of establishing a dictatorship with fascist tendencies. The suspicions that Arias leaned toward dictatorship grew when, in October, 1941, he forbade the arming of Panamanian merchant ships.

This was important because a large number of ships owned by United States companies had been registered under the flag of Panama, and several had been sunk in the war zone. The day after this decree was issued, Arias flew secretly to Habana, where, as he said later, he wanted to consult an oculist. His cabinet declared that he had forfeited the presidency by leaving the country without the necessary permission from Congress. Thereupon Ricardo Adolfo de la Guardia was installed as president. The new administration immediately made clear the fact that it intended to cooperate with the United States in hemisphere defense.

TEST YOURSELF!

A. Who Are These Characters in Central American History? The following names are important in the development of the Central American republics. For each statement, write in the parentheses the letter of the name which matches it. (Notice that there are more names than statements.)

a. Barrios

b. Morazán

c. Cañas

d. Walker

e. Cortés Castro

f. De Lesseps

g. Guerrero

h. Arnulfo Arias

i. Hay

j. Bryan

k. Gorgas

- () 1. President of Panama who refused to arm merchant ships in 1941.
- () 2. Costa Rican president who expropriated Electric Bond and Share Co.
- () 3. The Guatemalan president whose reforms are comparable to those of Juárez.
- () 4. United States soldier of fortune who became president of Nicaragua.
- () 5. United States Secretary of State who made the treaty for Nicaragua canal rights.
- () 6. Panama leader who talked with U. S. officials about plans for a revolution.
- () 7. Salvadorean who proposed abolition of slavery in Central America.

- () 8. United States official who made treaty with Britain, giving us control of proposed interocean canal.
- () 9. United States doctor who conquered yellow fever in Panama.
- () 10. The Honduran who led in founding the Central American Federation.

B. The Interocean Canal. This question attempts to emphasize the time-order of the important steps in the story. The events listed in the left-hand column are in the correct time-order. Fill in the blank spaces with the letter of the proper event selected from the right-hand column.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Clayton-Bulwer Treaty | a. United States intervened in Panama election |
| 2. _____ | b. De Lesseps planned the canal |
| 3. Hayes said U. S. must build the canal | c. Hay-Pauncefote Treaty |
| 4. _____ | d. United States gave up the right to intervene in Panama |
| 5. _____ | e. Colombia rejected the United States treaty |
| 6. Panama revolted | |
| 7. _____ | |
| 8. Bryan-Chamorro Treaty | |
| 9. _____ | |
| 10. President Arias was ousted | |

C. Important Points about Central America. Each of the following statements is accompanied by four completing phrases, one of which is incorrect. Cross out the incorrect completing phrase.

1. United States relations with Panama have involved conflicts over the following problems since the building of the canal began:
 - a. United States control of health and sanitation.
 - b. United States supervision of Panama elections since 1918.
 - c. United States adviser on Panama's finances.
 - d. United States intervention in Panama in case of disorder.
2. Costa Rica is outstanding in Central America in that she:
 - a. Has had a number of revolutions.
 - b. Had a president, Jiménez, who threatened those who demonstrated in favor of his re-election.
 - c. Has a population almost completely white.
 - d. Requires citizens to vote or be fined.
3. In United States-Nicaraguan relations:
 - a. William Walker's plans were opposed by the Nicaraguan patriots.
 - b. Bryan obtained for the United States the right to build a canal.
 - c. General Sandino was allied with the United States Marines.
 - d. The Marines were finally withdrawn after 1932.
4. The most important products of Central America are:

a. Coffee	c. Silk textiles
b. Bananas	d. Cacao

D. Correspondence or Class Assignments

1. Trace the history of United States relations with Panama by explaining the significance of these treaties: Clayton-Bulwer, Hay-Pauncefote, United States-Panama (both 1903 and 1936).

2. Why were United States Marines stationed in Nicaragua, but not in Guatemala? What made possible their withdrawal?

3. In what ways is Costa Rica outstanding in Central America? Mention at least three points in your answer.

E. Suggestions for Extra Reading

Gunther, John, *Inside Latin America*. Ch. 8-10.

Herring, Hubert, *Good Neighbors*, pp. 299-305.

Williams, M. W., *People and Politics of Latin America*. Ch. 19.

XI. THE WEST INDIES

The Mediterranean Sea and the Caribbean Sea are the most important trade routes in the world. In the future the two great twin seas, the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, may prove to be even more important than the Mediterranean. The waters of the Caribbean Sea cover a system of mountains, the higher ranges and peaks of which form the thousands of islands, many volcanic, which dot the sea. In addition to the three independent island republics of Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti, there are islands flying the flags of the United States, England, Holland, France, and Venezuela. All of them together make up the West Indies group. The West Indies Islands have an almost ideal climate. They are warmed by the warm currents of the Atlantic and are cooled by the trade winds blowing in off the ocean. Neither the excessive heat of the Middle-Western summers nor the cold of Northern winters in the United States is experienced. A comparison of average monthly temperatures in the West Indies shows a difference of but four to six degrees between the hottest and the coldest months. There are two rainy seasons—one in May and June, the other in October and November.

CUBA

"It is the most beautiful land ever seen by human eyes," said Columbus when he first beheld Cuba. The "Pearl of the Antilles" with the neighboring island of Puerto Rico was the last of the New World possessions to be lost by Spain.

Cuba, along with Panama, delayed the attainment of independence until the twentieth century. In the 1820's Colombia and Mexico planned an expedition to free the island from Spain. But the United States frowned on the action because it feared that the island was not strong enough to defend itself from England and France, who were casting covetous eyes upon its rich soil. Cuban patriots early began plotting rebellion against the mother country. A secret society known as *Los Soles y Rayos de Bolívar* ("The Suns and Rays of Bolívar") was discovered and its members severely punished in 1826. The young poet, José María Heredia, who is discussed in the section on literature, was a member of this association and was banished to the United States. It was then that he wrote his famous ode to Niagara Falls. Another well-known writer who perished because of his liberal views was the Negro poet,

Gabriel Concepción de la Vega. In fact, Cuban history from 1820 to 1898 is filled with names of great writers and scientists who worked for their country's independence.

José Martí. José Martí, who was to become the flame of the Cuban revolution, was born in Habana early in 1853. He grew up in poverty. When he was seventeen, he spent six months at hard labor in a stone quarry because of his activities against the government. Early in 1871 the Cuban authorities decided to deport Martí to Spain for a term of six years. Looking back, one may call this period of exile a piece of good fortune for Martí since it gave him an opportunity for advanced study which he would never have had in Cuba. Toward the end of 1874 he decided to quit Spain. His wanderings from this time on are numerous. He went to Mexico. From there he slipped back into Cuba under an assumed name for a brief visit.

In 1878, when his period of exile was over, Martí returned to Cuba and took up the practice of law. However, he was again deported in 1879 and returned to Spain for a short time. From there he went to New York, where he lived for many years. By 1880 he had attained an international reputation as a political writer and propagandist for Cuban freedom. He also wrote poetry and charming stories for children. One of the best of his stories is called "The Black Doll." He founded a monthly magazine for children, *The Golden Bough*.

Except for the brief periods devoted to the practice of law and teachings, Martí earned his living by writing for the newspapers. It was he who

exposed in the newspapers of the United States and Latin America the abuses to which the Cubans were subjected by Spain, and the type of government which the revolutionists wished to establish in Cuba.

The Cuban Revolution. Early in 1895, Martí sailed from New York to meet General Máximo Gómez and General Antonio Maceo, who had long worked together for Cuban independence. The landing took place in the dead of night at a little village called Playitas. Before long it was learned that General Maceo also had made a successful landing. On May 5 the three leaders met, and thus began the Cuban Revolution. This revolution continued until the United States declared war on Spain in 1898. On May 19, 1895, Gómez' army, which now numbered about four hundred men, encountered a superior force led by the Spaniard, Colonel Sandoval. In the battle that followed Martí received three bullets and fell, mortally wounded.

After the War between the States the main object of United States diplomacy in regard to Cuba was the extension of commercial relations with the island and the protection of American interests. The "Ten Years' War" between Cuba and Spain, from 1868 to 1878, was characterized by great cruelty, destruction of property, and irregular methods of warfare. It imposed grave responsibilities upon the United States. In February, 1895, the last insurrection against Spanish rule began, and soon developed the same features as the Ten Years' War. Both sides were guilty of outrages, and conditions became so distressing that the United States was led to intervene

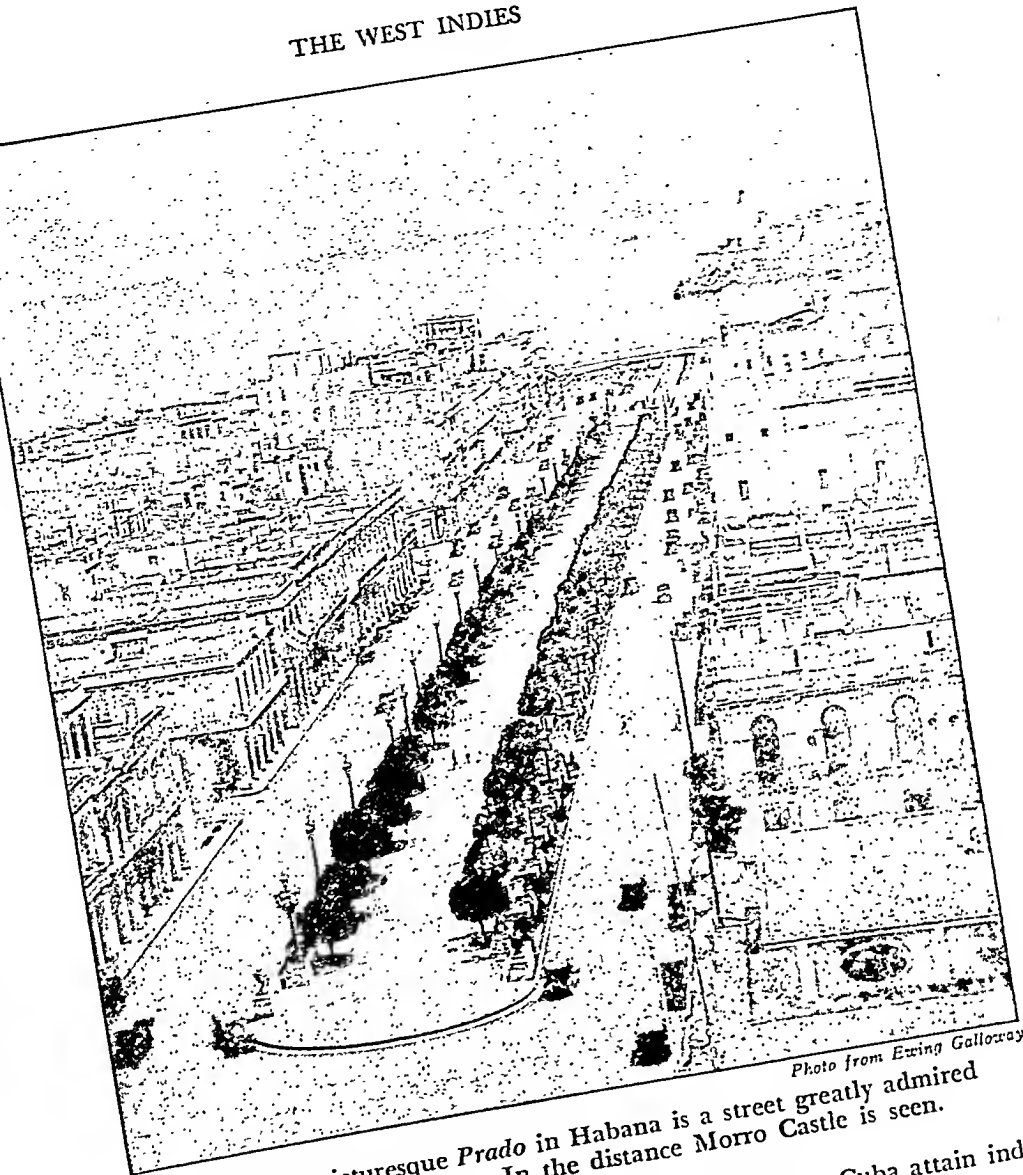


Photo from Ewing Galloway

The wide, picturesque *Prado* in Habana is a street greatly admired by visiting foreigners. In the distance Morro Castle is seen.

in 1898 and secure Cuba's independence. One of the fine chapters in United States history is that dealing with the liberation and modernizing of Cuba. While we may frankly admit that we have had a selfish interest in the island, because of its strategic position, yet this does not take away the glory of the service rendered that

country in helping Cuba attain independence.

The Spanish-American War (1898). The immediate cause of the intervention of the United States in the war between Cuba and the mother country was the explosion of the battleship *Maine* in the harbor of Habana. No reliable proof has ever

been produced that the *Maine* was blown up by the Spaniards. But that was the belief in the United States. "Remember the *Maine*" became a popular slogan, and the public clamored for war. In order to check the demands certain to be made that Cuba be retained by the United States, President McKinley, along with the recognition that a state of war existed, secured the adoption on April 19 by Congress of the following declaration:

The United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty [supremacy], jurisdiction, or control over said island [Cuba] except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

The military struggle lasted only a few weeks. The Spanish military machine was found to be very weak. The United States lost many men, chiefly through disease. Admiral Cervera's fleet was defeated, and an American expeditionary force soon swarmed over the island of Cuba. The peace commissions representing the United States and Spain met in Paris and signed the peace treaty on December 10, 1898. The United States assumed responsibility for the temporary government of Cuba and was awarded Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands.

The United States Takes a Hand. The United States then established, under General Leonard Wood, a military administration, notable for a campaign against yellow fever and for many other reforms. This administration lasted until May, 1902. Local elections were held in September, 1900, under the supervision of the

military government. A convention met two months later, which by February of the following year had agreed upon a constitution patterned after that of the United States. The latter insisted that it be given the right to supervise Cuban affairs. After much resistance the Cubans accepted what became known as the "Platt Amendment" to their constitution. The first three articles were as follows:

Article I. The government of Cuba shall never enter into any treaty with any foreign power which will impair the independence of Cuba.

Article II. The government of Cuba shall not contract any public debt to pay the interest upon which the ordinary revenues of the island shall be inadequate.

Article III. The government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty.

The following year President Theodore Roosevelt said that "in a sense Cuba has become a part of our political system." Our first intervention took place when President Palma was beginning his second term in 1906. Because a revolution had broken out, the United States announced a provisional government, with Secretary of State Taft as its head. The occupation was withdrawn in a little more than two years, but difficulties continued.

When President José Miguel Gómez reported in 1912 that he would not be able to "guarantee absolute protection" to foreign property, Secretary

of State Knox issued a note "in the hope of somewhat steadying the situation and thereby assisting the government of Cuba to put down the present uprising." Four companies of marines were landed June 5, 1912. The revolt was over about a month later.

In 1917 the United States was again confronted with the question of intervention. President Mario García Menocal, in spite of a promise to serve only one term, was declared re-elected after a stormy campaign. Opinion was freely expressed that the liberal candidate who ran against Menocal had actually won. During the next seven months the liberals were in revolt. The United States sent warships, declaring that it supported constitutional government and also that "as the Allied Powers and the United States must depend to a large extent upon the sugar production of Cuba, all disturbances which interfere with the production must be considered as hostile acts."

All together there have been at least five attempts at revolutions in Cuba since the country gained its independence. In each case the United States has thrown its influence against the revolution. At various other times the United States has used the Platt Amendment as justification for representations to Cuba concerning sanitation, limitation of loans, and legislation affecting foreign-owned concessions. For example, in the year 1912, the Cuban government granted the rights to certain forests and lands in the Zapata swamps to the Agricultural Company of Zapata on condition that it reclaim the swamp for agricultural purposes. Secretary Knox pro-

tested that this concession "seems to be so clearly ill-advised a project, so improvident and reckless a waste of revenue and natural resources, that this government is impelled to express to the government of Cuba its emphatic disapproval of the same." President Gómez replied that the Platt Amendment did not "authorize or signify meddling in internal affairs . . . for such a supervision . . . would be destructive of the independence of the republic."

Cuba tried to gain recognition among the nations of the world on the basis of complete equality. Demonstrating her freedom from the United States, she ratified the Treaty of Versailles and joined the League of Nations. When an Uruguayan diplomat was reported to have questioned before the League of Nations the complete independence of Cuba because of the existing Platt Amendment, Cuba broke off diplomatic relations with Uruguay until a disavowal was made. Cuban leaders continuously advocated the modification of the Platt Amendment. It was finally repealed in 1934.

In 1925 General Gerardo Machado, a liberal and a successful businessman, became president. His administration began with much promise. It was not long, however, until he showed all the usual signs of dictatorship. He changed the constitution in order that he and his congress might remain in office. Opposition from many different sections developed. When he asked the University of Habana to endorse his course by giving him an honorary degree, the students protested, and on April 10, 1928, he closed the university. There-

after, Machado was relentless in his persecution of university students. They were imprisoned, tortured, and murdered. Machado's hired assassins boldly followed the brilliant student leader, Julio Mella, to Mexico, where they assassinated him on the street. Ten students, arrested after the revolution of 1931, were shot, while leaders of that uprising, like ex-President Menocal, were allowed to go free. Two students, arrested while President Coolidge was in Habana opening the Pan-American conference in 1928, disappeared completely. But this did not stop the students, young women as well as young men, often members of the finest old families of Cuba, from fighting tyranny. They formed the secret society known as the ABC, an organization which, probably more than any other force, brought about the final downfall of President Machado.

The United States Withdraws from Cuban Politics. During this period the Washington government had become convinced of the impossibility of running the affairs of Cuba, without taking complete charge of the country. This it was not prepared to do. With the repealing of the Platt Amendment, a new treaty, providing for complete political independence and close economic co-operation with the United States, was approved by the United States Senate on May 31, 1936. At the beginning of that year, Dr. Miguel Mariano Gómez, a well-respected former mayor of Habana, was elected president. A new constitution had been adopted; the future began to clear. But by December of 1936 Gómez was impeached for purely political reasons. It was evident that the

man who had driven out Machado and made and unmade the presidents for some time was the only person who could impose order. This former army sergeant, Colonel Fulgencio Batista, was duly elected to the presidency in 1940. He has since visited Mexico and the United States and consulted with those governments about educational and economic questions.

Cuba's plan of economic and social reconstruction under a new constitution included provisions for the stabilization of teachers' tenure and salaries, construction of school buildings, and reduction of illiteracy.

The right to direct Cuba's political life was voluntarily surrendered by the United States in 1934, when the Platt Amendment was abrogated. Her two great crops, sugar and tobacco, are important to us. Since the list of Cuban products is small and practically all of them are marketed in the United States, she depends on us not only for manufactured goods, but very largely for foodstuffs, also. For this reason the United States still has an obligation to her sister republic. To prevent future misunderstandings we must help Cuba educate her people so that they can work out their own problems of self-government, diversified crops, honesty in administration, and personal sacrifice for the national good.

THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

The Dominicans call their country the "Cradle of America." And they are right. It was in the city of Santo Domingo that Columbus made his first permanent settlement. Here the conquistadors first came into contact

with primitive America and learned of the further possibilities and problems of conquest which lured Balboa to discover the Pacific, Velásquez to colonize Cuba, Pizarro to conquer the Inca Empire, Ponce de León to subdue Puerto Rico and to drive his keels to Florida in quest of the Fountain of Youth, and Hernando de Soto, after his exploits in Peru, Central America, and Florida, to achieve the discovery of the Mississippi. Here the irreproachable dandy and honorable gentleman Nicuesa, along with his equally well groomed and equally valorous rival, Ojeda, prepared their expeditions to conquer and settle the mainland of Spanish America. Here passed Gonzáles de Ávila on his way to one of the most heartbreaking expeditions, through Darien and upper Central America, that ever a strong soldier was called to endure. And here the noted bishop, Padre de Las Casas, began his far-famed ministry of mercy. For half a century following Columbus's epoch-making voyages, this little island was the central port and highway through which the flower of European civilization traveled, bearing the Old-World culture to the utmost bounds of the new colonial empire.

When Columbus first saw the beautiful island which now contains the Dominican Republic and the Republic of Haiti, he wrote his royal patrons: "Its mountains and plains . . . are so rich and beautiful for planting . . . and for building towns and villages . . . The size and wholesomeness of the rivers surpass anything

that would be believed by one who had not seen them."

President Grant, in urging on the Senate the annexation of the country, made a very clear statement when he said:

The acquisition of Santo Domingo¹ is desirable because of its geographical position. It commands the entrance to the Caribbean Sea and the Isthmus transit of commerce. It possesses the richest soil, the most capacious harbors, the most salubrious climate, and the most valuable products of the forests, mines, and soil of all the West Indies Islands. Its possession by us will in a few years build up a coast-wise commerce of immense magnitude, which will go far toward restoring to us our lost merchant marine. It will give to us these articles which we consume so largely and do not produce, thus equalizing our imports and exports. In case of foreign war it will give us command of all the islands referred to and thus prevent an enemy of ever possessing himself of a rendezvous on our very coast.

It has been said that the Dominican Republic, with its 19,332 square miles, is capable of sustaining a denser population than any other similar area in the world. It has been estimated that the island produces at least seventy-five varieties of grain and vegetables, fifty different kinds of fruits, twelve species of palms, and fifteen different types of pasture lands. Sugar is, of course, the leading product. Corn yields from three to four crops a year. Cacao, coffee, bananas, oranges, and pineapples are exported. Copper is found in commercial quantities; deposits of iron are known to exist; coal and petroleum are found in considerable amounts; salt, alum,

¹The name Santo Domingo was once applied to the whole island (now officially called Hispaniola) and also to the Spanish part of the island (now known as the Dominican Republic).

gypsum, platinum, mercury, and other minerals are mined to some extent. Thanks to the inaccessibility of the great forests, much of the wealth of rare hardwoods and dyewoods has been conserved. Mahogany, ebony, satinwood, rosewood, walnut, and other precious woods are abundant.

The coast line of the island, unlike that of Puerto Rico, is well indented with harbors and bays. Samana Bay is a veritable inland sea, measuring about forty miles from east to west and fourteen from north to south, with room to haven all the navies of the world.

Retarding Influences in the Dominican Republic. Why has such a remarkably rich country failed to advance with the more progressive portion of the Western World? History reveals several reasons, the clearest of which is isolation. The Spaniards, after making this island the center of their early operations in America, plucked all its removable riches, and pushed on to the mainland. Thereafter for two centuries most vessels even ceased to make the island a regular port of call. When enlarged sugar production began to restore its prosperity, and the smugglers began to violate the regulations that trade could be carried on only with Spain, that government actually closed the ports on the northern shore and compelled the people to move to the interior. In the early nineteenth century the invasion of Negro despots from Haiti, with the consequent flight of the best of the white elements, once again set the country back. The struggle against Haitian interference continued during most of the nineteenth century, and the assurance of inde-

pendence from that republic came to the Dominicans only with the assassination of Heureaux, the Negro dictator who ruled it from 1882 to 1899.

During this period of struggle the politicians of the country twice proposed that the island seek refuge under a foreign flag. This scheme was actually carried out in 1861, when the island returned to the fold of Spain for a period of four years. After the United States backed the country in eliminating Spain, the administration of President Grant flirted with the Dominicans concerning the annexation of the country to the United States. This would probably have been accomplished if Senator Sumner, with his speech on "Naboth's Vineyard," and other enemies of Grant and of expansion had not defeated the proposal.

President Báez, negotiator in this matter of annexation, succeeded in accomplishing what had been the dream of every administration of the republic—the contracting of a foreign loan. The firm of London bankers, Hartmont and Company, who agreed to float an issue of Dominican bonds, so mercilessly fleeced the government, however, that the nucleus of the enormous debt which finally led to American intervention was established. The government received only about £38,095 out of a loan issued in London for £757,700. Many of the bonds were sold in London after the Dominican government in 1870 had cancelled the agreement. Most of the bonds were exchanged for the next loan, secured in 1888 from the Dutch firm of Westendorp. The rest were purchased at twenty-eight cents on the dollar by a United States firm, the San

Domingo Improvement Company, which took over the Westendorp interests and began in 1893 to dominate Dominican finance.

Under pressure from foreign governments, the principal debt items due foreign citizens had been recognized by the Dominicans, who had actually gone so far as to pledge the income from each of the more important customhouses for the payment of this or that creditor. The agreement was seldom kept, since the Dominican, believing always that he was being exploited, felt lightly bound by such "obligations."

United States Intervention. A new power was about to enter the life of the republic. Just as Santo Domingo was the first city, in that vast new world later known as Latin America, to receive the impulse of the Spanish civilization, so the republic was now to be the first of the Latin-American countries to receive officially the newer North American civilization. In 1905 President Theodore Roosevelt announced a new interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine which declared the United States responsible for the moral life of its nearest neighbors, an interpretation applied by the Department of State in its dealing with Latin America for the next twenty-five years.

Following this announcement the President pressed for an arrangement whereby the United States should administer the finances of the Dominican Republic, then struggling with many creditors in Europe and America. The Dominican government finally agreed that a collector of customs should be appointed by the United States.

Collection of Dominican customs by

a foreign power continued, with various ups and downs, for a decade. But during the turbulent times of 1914-1918 such indirect control did not seem to be sufficient. Naval strategists urged a military control as well. By intervention in Haiti in 1915 the United States had secured control of the passage to the Panama Canal between Cuba and Haiti. Negotiations for the purchase of the Virgin Islands from Denmark were under way, in order to secure a safe passage between these islands and Puerto Rico. In the meantime the remaining passage between Puerto Rico and the island of Hispaniola needed to be secured. Disturbed political conditions in the Dominican Republic encouraged the United States to ask it to sign a treaty which would accord the United States much the same dominance that Haiti had accorded it a year before.

"No time should be lost in declaring military control," urged Secretary Lansing in a note to President Wilson. Even as the President pondered over this disturbing situation of hemisphere defense, the Cabinet secretaries were pounding at his door with more perplexing world problems. He seized his pen and hastily wrote to his Secretary of State: "It is with the deepest reluctance that I approve and authorize the course you have proposed, but I am convinced that it is the least of the evils in sight in this very perplexing situation." Military occupation was immediately set up by Rear-Admiral Knapp. From the day when the proclamation of military governorship was issued, through eight years the Dominican government was controlled by an admiral of the United States Navy.

The United States Withdraws. When the first World War was over, the people of the United States began to feel that the government of the Dominican Republic should be restored to its people. President Harding sent young Sumner Welles from the State Department to negotiate the withdrawal of the occupation forces. This was accomplished completely in 1924, and there was great rejoicing. The first president to serve under the new regime was Horacio Vásquez. He was overthrown in February, 1930, on the eve of new elections. General Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina assumed the presidency in that year and ruled with an iron hand until 1938. In that year he retired for a term of four years, while Dr. Jacinto B. Peynado, former vice-president, was elected chief executive. General Trujillo continued to be the power behind the throne and returned to the presidency in 1942. In his honor the name of the historic city of Santo Domingo was changed to Ciudad Trujillo. He endeavored to ingratiate himself with his people and the outside world by improving the roads, beautifying the capital city, enlarging the educational program, and inviting a large number of European refugees to make their home in the republic.

HAITI

How Haiti Came to Be French. At a Pan-American conference, one delegation stands out as different from all the others—it speaks French and its members are black or mulatto. The story of how Haiti came to be black, and how one third of the island settled by Columbus and dominated by the conquistadors came under

French control, is a part of the exciting account of the buccaneers of the West Indies. The numerous European wars between Spain, England, France, and Holland had their echoes in the West Indies Islands, which often changed hands. When France and Spain went to war in 1689, their colonists in the two sections of the Island of Hispaniola fought many a fierce battle. By the Peace of Ryswick, the western section of the island, next to Cuba—and now known as Haiti—was definitely ceded to France.

The French were interested only in the exploitation of Haiti. They imported over a million slaves into the colony during the eighteenth century. With these Haitian inhabitants the French colonists were cruel and exacting. The masters lived on their great plantations, largely in idleness, importing their styles and manners from Paris. They had no interest in the blacks except to exact from them all possible revenue. The mulatto class was bold and insolent. The stage was being set for the massacre, *en masse*, of the whites by the blacks, who outnumbered their masters ten to one.

Three Negro Leaders. One day in June, 1779, three Negro slaves met in the harbor of Cap Haitien, where Columbus landed on his first voyage. One was a tall, handsome young Negro, proud and straight as a Roman. He was Henri Christophe. He was sailing that day, in company with his master, to fight on the side of the United States in the Revolutionary War.

On the same wharf sat a young, squatty, ugly, burly black, whose very appearance on his recent arrival from Africa had caused such repulsion that

he was allowed by the whites to be sold to a Negro. The young slave had been recently christened Jean Jacques Dessalines.

On the docks stood also a coach, driven from a neighboring plantation by a Negro later to be known as the famous L'Ouverture. This was Tous-saint, a quiet little black man appreciated by his master because he seldom left the plantation, did his work well, and spent his spare moments reading books.

These three men separated. The upstanding Christophe went to Savannah, Georgia, to fight with the American colonists in their struggle for independence. The surly Dessalines went back to his master's plantation to sulk and to nurse the wounds inflicted by his Negro owner. The silent Tous-saint drove his lord and lady back to their home and slipped out to the stable to go on with his reading. A strange trio, indeed, but they were destined to work mightily for the freedom of their people, after they had paid back, lash for lash, life for life, every cruelty heaped upon them by the whites for two hundred years.

After a time the little black coachman, having decided that he would fight for the liberty of his people, joined the Spanish army where he learned military tactics. With his military training Toussaint organized the opposition to Napoleon's forces in Haiti, drove out the French, and established himself as the ruler of the island.

Toussaint L'Ouverture's Wise Rule.

After a constitution had been adopted on July 1, 1801, Toussaint turned his attention to reconstruction problems. The rich soil was made to

produce in abundance, idlers were put to work, and every inhabitant of Haiti was compelled to develop every foot of ground and to produce every possible bit of food. Young men were sent to France for education, the army was severely disciplined, and voodooism was prosecuted. Friendships with foreign governments were built up. Napoleon's legions would soon be returning, thought Toussaint, and Haiti must be ready.

The legions of Napoleon did come back, under the command of his famous brother-in-law, Leclerc. But the expedition to Haiti was a dismal failure. Disease, famine, lack of money, and the failure to receive help from home resulted in utter defeat. Only one part of his instructions was Leclerc able to carry out. By strategy and lying he was able to capture Toussaint and to send him in chains to France, where he died of neglect in a dungeon in 1803. Thus passed from the scene one of the world's remarkable characters, Toussaint L'Ouverture.

Dessalines. To avenge this perfidy and to assuage the wounds of his slave days, Dessalines, the second of the triumvirate, swung into the saddle. He was not the statesman, the organizer, the far-seeing leader of his race that Toussaint was. But he knew how to be cruel. He could invent more deceptions and punishments than the French, with all their brilliancy.

Dessalines, having driven out the French, assumed the dictatorship of Haiti, establishing her independence in 1804. He now proved himself as hard on the Haitians as he had been on the French. His colossal ignorance



Photo from Black Star

Haiti, the black man's republic, honors one of its founders, Toussaint L'Ouverture, as a great American hero. He prepared for his work, while a slave, by reading many books.

and cruelty caused the mulattoes in the south to rise against him and accomplish his assassination on October 17, 1806.

Christophe Makes Himself King. With the assassination of Dessalines, the third member of the group on the wharf at Cap Haitien twenty-seven years before, succeeded to power. Under the name of Henri I, Christophe ruled as successful despot in the north, while Alexandre Pétion, the mulatto, revolted and established himself as ruler at Port-au-Prince in the south.

When Christophe became king, he could write only half his name. He had never read a book. His only educated associates had been the half-drunken guests of the hotel where he was a waiter. But he had been to Savannah; he had been closely associated with Toussaint and Dessalines; he had tramped through blood for a quarter of a century, dreaming of the day when black would equal white. He resolved to make his land rich and respected. He struck first on a scheme to fill his empty treasury. A most important instrument for the peasant was the gourd, his drinking cup. Gourds were declared state property, and were used as a medium of exchange. Over 200,000 were collected, and soon everyone began to need gourds. So gourds were used to pay the Haitians for the coffee crop, and the coffee was in turn sold to the foreigner for gold. Thus the treasury was filled with gold currency, and the coin of the realm, the *gourde*, received the name that it is still known by today.

Every man and woman was required to work from sunup to sundown, each

day, with two hours off at noon. Landlords were required to furnish medical attention for their tenants and to support the aged and infirm. Haiti became rich again. A small merchant marine developed. King Christophe invited six teachers from England to teach in Haiti. Replicas of English school buildings were erected, and soon hundreds of children of former slaves were preparing themselves for the new age. Every boy of ten or over was required to learn a trade. Governesses brought from Philadelphia for the princesses found themselves at home in Christophe's court as he reminisced about his adventures in the Revolutionary War.

But the time came, as he had predicted, when his strong hands would tremble in weakness. On a day in 1820, when his people arose in rebellion against his program of forced labor, Christophe dressed himself in his kingly robes, took out the gold bullet long saved for the occasion, and fired it into his brain.

Both Dessalines and Henri Christophe were blacks who paid heed to the African drums, who believed in voodooism, and who participated in the sacrificial ceremonies of their race, offering up to the spirits the blood of goats and cocks and snakes and, perchance, human beings. So also was General Nord Alexis, the giant African who ruled from 1902 to 1908; and so, too, was Guillaume Sam, who, by the assassination of his enemies, brought on intervention by the United States in 1915.

Haiti has had twenty-six presidents since the death of Christophe in 1820, when the north and south of the country were reunited, eleven of which

BACKGROUND OF A CONTINENT

ruled in the five-year period from 1911 to 1916. Twelve of the twenty-six were pure Negroes, six were griffe—black with a very small percentage of white blood—and eight were mulattoes.

Military Occupation by the United States. Although the United States did not recognize Haiti as an independent nation, it was anxious to develop commercial relations with the country. It is not to be wondered at then that Haiti was slow to grant commercial favors to a power which showed itself opposed to political recognition. The many ensuing difficulties between the two countries are illustrated by the fact that the United States intervened in Haitian affairs, either by diplomatic or military pressure, some fifteen times before the period of military occupation which lasted from 1915 to 1933.

In an election supervised by the United States marines on August 12, 1915, Sudré Dartiguenave was elected president. Trouble continued, and on September 16, 1915, the United States made a treaty with the Haitian government. By this treaty the United States took over the administration of the country and its finances for a period of ten years. United States marines were stationed in the island to keep order. During this period of occupation the United States retained a Haitian administration, through which the national government operated. Roads were built, sanitary measures were introduced, agricultural education was encouraged, and government finances were

improved. In 1922 Luis Borno became chief executive and served for two terms. Following a riot in December, 1929, and clashes with the United States forces, President Hoover sent a commission of inquiry to Haiti. The group recommended that the United States military commissioner be replaced by a civilian, that more Haitians be used in the government, that new elections be held to choose a president, and that the treaty of 1915 remain in effect until 1936.

United States Occupation Ended. President Stenio Vincent was elected on November 18, 1930, and served for two terms. He negotiated an agreement with President Roosevelt on August 14, 1934, whereby the occupation of Haiti by the United States was ended. Haiti agreed to appoint a financial agent to be recommended by the United States, and to purchase for the sum of \$1,000,000 the local branch of the National City Bank of New York.

The problem of Haiti cannot be considered apart from the world problem of the Negro. The Negro is developing a world consciousness. Among the most important signs of this awakening are the Pan-African movement; the West African and South African conferences, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in America, the Union Patriotique d'Haiti, the Garvey movement in Jamaica, and the movement for a federation of the British West Indies Negroes. There are 2,000,000 in the British West Indies today.

TEST YOURSELF

A. Who Are These Leaders in the Story of the West Indies? This list of names can be matched with the following statements, which are grouped by countries and arranged in the proper time order. Within the parentheses before each statement write the letter of the leader to whom it refers.

- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| a. José Martí | i. Sumner Welles |
| b. Christophe | j. Dessalines |
| c. Trujillo | k. Julio Mella |
| d. Machado | l. Stenio Vincent |
| e. Leclerc | m. McKinley |
| f. General Wood | n. Theodore Roosevelt |
| g. Batista | o. U. S. Grant |
| h. Toussaint | |

Cuba:

- () 1. The exiled writer who led the movement for Cuban independence.
- () 2. The United States President who favored Cuban freedom.
- () 3. The leader of the United States occupation forces in Cuba.
- () 4. The dictator who persecuted university students.
- () 5. The sergeant who overthrew Machado and later became president.

Dominican Republic:

- () 6. The United States President who wished to annex this republic.
- () 7. The United States President who announced the policy of enforcing financial reliability in the West Indies.
- () 8. United States diplomat who ended our occupation of the republic.
- () 9. The dictator who gave his name to his capital city.

Haiti:

- () 10. The revolutionary leader who was captured and died in France.
- () 11. Napoleon's brother-in-law, who failed to reconquer Haiti.
- () 12. The former slave who proclaimed Haiti's independence.
- () 13. The uneducated ex-slave, who brought teachers from England.
- () 14. The Haitian president who made the treaty which ended United States occupation.

B. Problems of United States Policy in the West Indies. Each of the following statements is followed by a group of completing phrases. Some of them are correct; others are incorrect. Underline each correct completion.

1. The reasons for the United States declaration of war against Spain were
 - a. To avenge the sinking of the *Maine*.
 - b. To remove a European power from this strategic position.
 - c. To annex Cuba.
 - d. To protect United States interests on the island from destruction.
2. The Platt Amendment provided that Cuba should
 - a. Make a defensive alliance with the United States.
 - b. Not sign a treaty which would impair her independence.
 - c. Permit the United States to take control when necessary to preserve independence or order.
 - d. Not borrow more than she could pay the interest on.
3. The Dominican Republic has been backward because it
 - a. Was long dominated by her neighbor, Haiti.
 - b. Was neglected while a Spanish colony.
 - c. Got little benefit from foreign loans.
 - d. Had no relations with the United States.
4. In the cases of both Haiti and the Dominican Republic, United States occupation was based on the desire to
 - a. Annex them to the United States.
 - b. Be better able to guard the entrances to the Caribbean Sea.
 - c. Improve their finances.
 - d. Get permanent naval bases.
5. The Hoover Commission to Haiti recommended that
 - a. United States rule be ended in 1936.
 - b. The voodoo rites be made illegal.
 - c. More Haitians have posts in the administration.
 - d. A civilian governor replace the naval commander.

C. Correspondence or Class Assignments

1. Why did the United States take full control of Haiti (1915) and the Dominican Republic (1916)? Do these reasons still exist, although the occupations have ceased?
2. What motives caused the United States to aid Cuba's war for independence? Which of these motives did the Platt Amendment serve?
3. Compare the parts played in Haiti's development by each of these men: Toussaint, Leclerc, Dessalines, Christophe.

D. Suggestions for Extra Reading

Gunter, John, *Inside Latin America*. Ch. 29, 30.

Herring, Hubert, *Good Neighbors*. Ch. 6.

Stewart and Peterson, *Builders of Latin America*. Ch. 9, 10.

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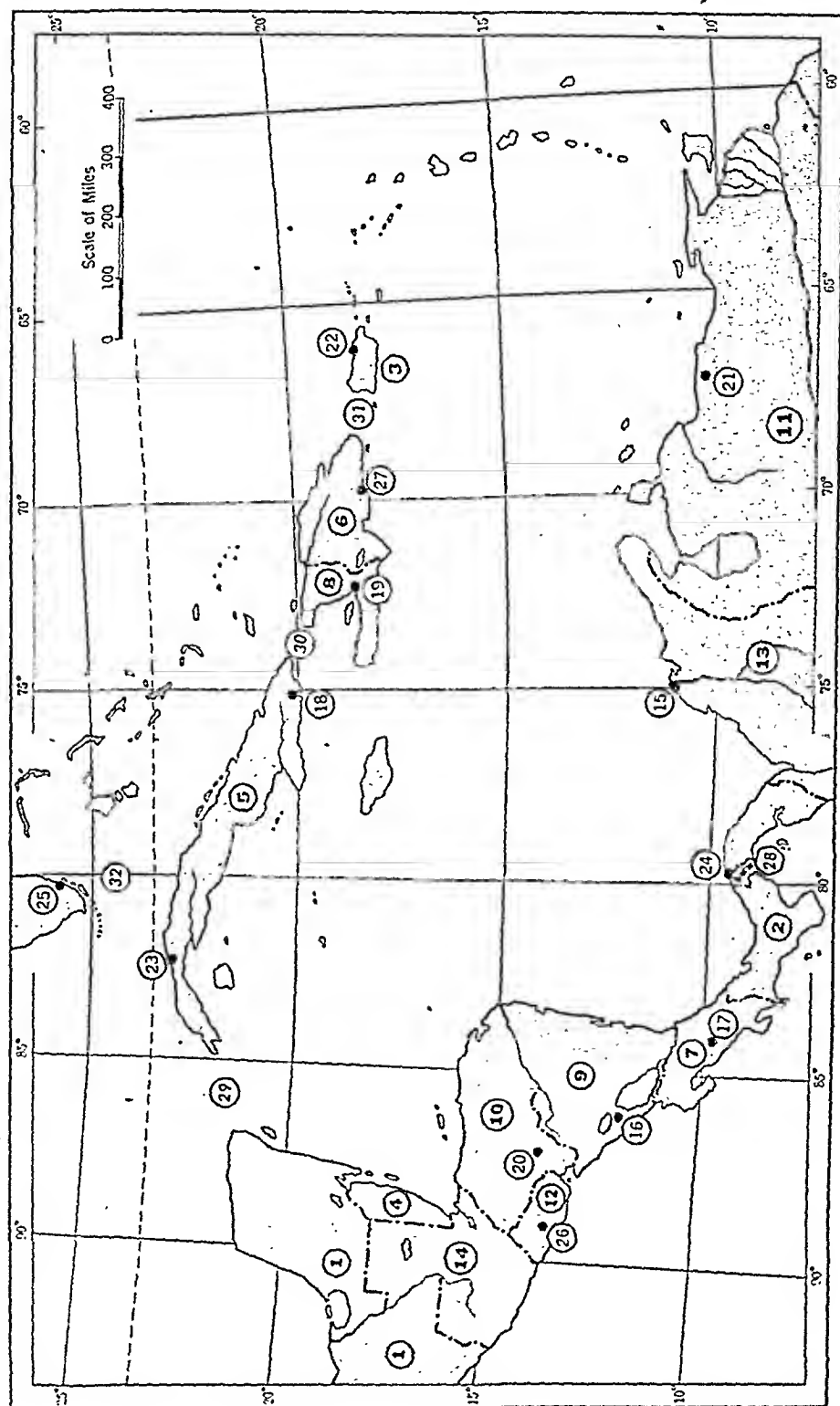
FULL-COURSE REVIEW

A. The Geography of the Caribbean Area. The accompanying map on page 208 shows the countries and important cities of the Caribbean area, plus a few of the important waterways. Each item on the map is numbered. After studying the map on page 174, you should be able to give the correct number for each of the items on the following lists. Write in the parentheses in front of each item its number on the accompanying map:

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Cities (Continued)</i>
() A. Dominican Republic	() c. San Juan
() B. Nicaragua	() d. Tegucigalpa
() C. Colombia	() e. Colón
() D. Cuba	() f. Barranquilla
() E. Guatemala	() g. San José
() F. Costa Rica	() h. San Salvador
() G. Venezuela	() i. Port-au-Prince
() H. Haiti	() j. Habana
() I. El Salvador	() k. Guantánamo
() J. Panama	() l. Ciudad Trujillo
() K. Honduras	() m. Miami
() L. Puerto Rico (U. S.)	
() M. Mexico	<i>Waterways</i>
() N. British Honduras	() n. Yucatán Channel
	() o. Mona Passage
<i>Cities</i>	() p. Panama Canal
() a. Caracas	() q. Windward Passage
() b. Managua	() r. Florida Straits

B. What Are the Chief Characteristics of the Latin Americans? In the following list of statements about Latin Americans, circle the number of each correct statement:

1. In Latin America family life means more than in the United States.
2. They prefer individual sports, such as fencing, to team sports.
3. Their Indian heritage has played less part in their lives than in those of North Americans.
4. Their gardens are in the privacy of the patio, rather than in public view, as our yards are in the United States.
5. They generally do not care for poetry, considering it a waste of time.
6. In the plazas of many villages, the men stroll around in one direction, and the women in the opposite direction.
7. Except in some cities, the young women are chaperoned almost until the day of their marriage.
8. As a rule, they love conversation and social life.
9. Dignity and respect are highly prized qualities in Latin America.
10. Latin-American students are more concerned about courses that will train them to earn money than in the more cultural courses.
11. They are not particularly concerned about politics.
12. They prize courtesy and friendliness more than arriving on time for an appointment.



Central America and the West Indies Today

13. The Latin American could profit by acquiring some of the efficiency of the North American.
14. The North American could profit by adopting some of the Latin leisureliness and charm.
15. In Latin America people have little race prejudice.
16. They are a mixture of Indian, Negro, Spanish or Portuguese, and other white nationalities.
17. In South America immigrants from North America exceed those from Italy.
18. The people of Argentina are predominantly of the white race.
19. Brazil is definitely in favor of racial intermixture, so that all citizens will be loyal Brazilians.
20. The nation which does most for the Indians is Mexico.

C. Causes and Effects. Each of the following statements about Latin America is accompanied by three supposed effects or results. One of them is a correct result; underline it.

1. The Andes Mountains are very high and have few passes.
 - a. Transportation between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts is largely by sea and air, rather than by land.
 - b. There are few good harbors on the Pacific coast.
 - c. The Pacific coastal strip is very narrow.
2. The Peru Current abounds in fish.
 - a. Peru has three geographical areas.
 - b. The islands opposite Peru have large guano deposits.
 - c. The southern lakes of Chile offer good fishing.
3. The Peru Current consists of cool water.
 - a. Rain rarely falls on the Pacific coast opposite the Current.
 - b. Peru is cooler than Chile, because it is farther north.
 - c. The coastal area of Chile is cooler than the mountainous area
4. The pampas of Argentina and Uruguay have deep, rich soil.
 - a. Their population is largely of the white race.
 - b. More immigrants from Italy have settled there than from the United States.
 - c. The farms produce fine crops of cattle and wheat.
5. The Inca Indians had a highly centralized economic system.
 - a. They produced maize, potatoes, and llamas for food.
 - b. Their gold mines were very productive.
 - c. Each group was told what to produce for the national welfare.
6. The Maya Indians were a very religious people.
 - a. They were fond of playing a kind of basketball.
 - b. Their temples were their most beautiful buildings.
 - c. They produced two books which record their legends.
7. The Aztecs excelled in warfare.
 - a. Their priests sacrificed human beings, usually war captives.
 - b. They conquered the inhabitants of the Valley of Mexico.
 - c. Their education stressed courtesy and self-control.

D. Facts and Opinions on the Political History of Latin America. The following list includes statements of fact (some true and some false), as well as opinions (some of which are discussed in Chapters 6-11, and others not). For each statement of fact which is true, encircle the letter T; for each which is false, the letter F. For each opinion, encircle OD if it has been discussed in this course; ON if it has not been discussed in this course.

- | | | | | |
|---|---|----|----|---|
| T | F | OD | ON | 1. Except for the birth of Jesus, the discovery of America was the most far-reaching event in history. |
| T | F | OD | ON | 2. The Spanish conquistador was the most outstanding type of human being the world has seen. |
| T | F | OD | ON | 3. In the "Patronato" the Pope and the king of Spain agreed on their co-operation in the colonies. |
| T | F | OD | ON | 4. The Spanish King collected half of all the mined wealth of the colonies. |
| T | F | OD | ON | 5. The English colonial period was shorter than the Spanish. |
| T | F | OD | ON | 6. The Spanish colonists were justified in demanding reforms. |
| T | F | OD | ON | 7. The American Revolution was the chief inspiration for Simón Bolívar's work. |
| T | F | OD | ON | 8. Haiti, the first independent republic of Latin America, sent soldiers to aid Bolívar. |
| T | F | OD | ON | 9. The Argentine independence movement began as resistance against the British seizure of Buenos Aires. |
| T | F | OD | ON | 10. At the time of their deaths, Bolívar and San Martín were at the peak of their popularity. |
| T | F | OD | ON | 11. The Monroe Doctrine may be regarded as more a British than a United States idea. |
| T | F | OD | ON | 12. Bolívar favored a life-tenure for the presidents of the new republics. |
| T | F | OD | ON | 13. One of the many boundary wars was fought between Mexico and the United States. |
| T | F | OD | ON | 14. Probably the strongest opponents of dictatorship in Latin America are the teachers and editors. |
| T | F | OD | ON | 15. The independence movement probably did little to change the economic life of the colonies. |
| T | F | OD | ON | 16. Latin America made more progress in democracy in the nineteenth century than the United States did. |

E. Mexico, Central America and the West Indies. Each of the following statements is followed by a set of completing phrases. Some of the phrases are correct completions, others are not. Underline those which are correct.

1. In Mexican history the following men were in favor of dividing the large estates to provide land for the poor farmers:

- a. Cortés b. Morelos c. Díaz d. Carranza e. Cárdenas

2. On the following questions the governments of Mexico and the United States were in opposition:
 - a. The boundary between Texas and Mexico
 - b. The policies of the two countries toward World War II
 - c. The activities of Huerta
 - d. The application of Article 27 of the Constitution by President Calles
3. The Constitution of 1917 provided radical changes in the following provisions:
 - a. Collective bargaining between unions and employers
 - b. Government supervision of all schools
 - c. Republican form of government
 - d. National ownership of all Church property
4. The following are problems which had to be solved in the planning and building of the Panama Canal:
 - a. Whether to annex all of Panama
 - b. Whether to build the canal in partnership with Great Britain
 - c. Whether to pay the higher price for the canal rights which Colombia demanded
 - d. Whether to recognize the new revolutionary government of Panama
 - e. How to protect the Canal Zone against yellow fever
5. The following actions on the part of the United States have been taken as a means of dominating the approaches to the Panama Canal:
 - a. The sending of marines into the Dominican Republic in 1916
 - b. The provision in the treaty of 1903 that the United States could intervene in Panama when it thought necessary
 - c. The United States declaration of war against Spain
 - d. The provision in the 1936 treaty with Panama that, in case of danger, the two countries would hold consultations
6. José Martí, the Cuban independence leader:
 - a. Was deported because of his political ideas.
 - b. Was the first president of liberated Cuba.
 - c. Lived in New York, writing children's stories and planning the revolution.
 - d. Was killed in the revolution before the United States declared war.
7. Haiti is unique in Latin America in that it:
 - a. Is French-speaking.
 - b. Is a Negro nation.
 - c. Was the first colony to gain independence, after the United States.
 - d. Has had no violent revolutions.
8. Since 1933 the United States has taken the following actions in Middle America which show a decline in political domination on the part of the United States:
 - a. Withdrew the provisions of the Platt Amendment in Cuba.
 - b. Recalled the marines from Haiti.
 - c. Gave Puerto Rico independence.
 - d. Gave up the right to intervene in Panama.
 - e. The last marines withdrew from Nicaragua.

APPENDIX

CHRONOLOGY

OUTSTANDING EVENTS IN LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

- 1492 Columbus discovers America
- 1493 Line of demarcation of Pope Alexander VI
- 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas, the result of which gave Portugal title to Brazil
- 1496 Founding of Santo Domingo
- 1500 Brazil discovered by Cabral of Portugal
- 1502 Negro slavery introduced into the New World
- 1513 Pacific discovered by Balboa; Florida by Ponce de León
- 1516 Discovery of Río de la Plata by Díaz de Solís
- 1519-21 Mexico conquered by Cortés
- 1524 Council of the Indies organized
- 1531-33 Francisco Pizarro conquers Peru
- 1532 Founding of São Vicente, first colony in Brazil
- 1537 Founding of Asunción
- 1541 Founding of Santiago de Chile
- 1549 Founding of São Salvador, later known as Bahia
- 1551 Founding of universities of San Marcos (Lima) and Mexico
- 1570 Inquisition introduced into Spanish America
- 1571 Execution of Tupac Amaru, "the last of the Incas"
- 1580 Founding of Buenos Aires
- 1588 Spanish Armada defeated
- 1595 Sir Walter Raleigh sails up the Orinoco River
- 1610 First arrival of Jesuits in Asunción
- 1621 Dutch West Indies Company chartered
- 1623 Founding of St. Kitts, first English colony in the West Indies
- 1654 Dutch driven from Pernambuco
- 1673 Present city of Panama founded
- 1697 France acquires western Haiti
- 1763 Rio de Janeiro becomes capital of Brazil
- 1767 Society of Jesuits suppressed in Spanish colonies
- 1777 Treaty of San Ildefonso signed by Spain and Portugal
- 1804 Haiti achieves independence
- 1806 Buenos Aires captured and lost by the British
- 1806 Francisco Miranda leads a patriot expedition from New York to Venezuela
- 1807 Government of Portugal removes to Brazil
- 1807 Montevideo captured and evacuated by the British
- 1808 Ferdinand VII, king of Spain, abdicates
- 1810 Independence movement begins in Mexico, Venezuela, Argentina

- 1811 Paraguay, Venezuela, and Ecuador proclaim independence
- 1813 Colombia and Mexico proclaim independence
- 1814 Ferdinand VII restored in Spain
- 1814-40 Dr. Francia is dictator of Paraguay
- 1816 Argentina proclaims independence
- 1817 San Martín defeats Spaniards at Chacabuco, Chile
- 1817 Portuguese capture Montevideo, which temporarily becomes Brazilian territory
- 1818 Chile proclaims independence
- 1819 Bolívar crosses Andes and conquers New Granada
- 1821 Peru, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and El Salvador declare independence
- 1822 Brazil secures independence with Pedro as emperor
- 1822 San Martín withdraws from Peru and South America
- 1822 The United States recognizes the independence of various Hispanic-American states
- 1823 Monroe Doctrine promulgated
- 1825 Bolivia proclaims independence
- 1826 South America completely freed from Spain. Panama Congress held
- 1826 Bernardino Rivadavia, president of Argentina, negotiates a British loan
- 1828 Independence of Uruguay from Brazil and Argentina
- 1830 Death of Bolívar
- 1833 New Constitution of the Chilean state
- 1837-39 War between Chile and the Peru-Bolivian confederation
- 1838 Buenos Aires blockaded by French fleet
- 1844 Dominican Republic established
- 1844 Allan Gardner begins missionary work among South American Indians
- 1846-48 War between the United States and Mexico
- 1855 Railroad between Colón and Panama City opened
- 1856 William Walker becomes president of Nicaragua
- 1857 Construction of first railway in Argentina
- 1859-1862, 1867-72 Benito Juárez is president of Mexico
- 1861-65 Santo Domingo under Spanish flag
- 1862-67 French intervention in Mexico
- 1862 Bartolomé Mitre becomes president of a united Argentina
- 1865-70 The Paraguayan War
- 1865-66 Chile, Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia sign an offensive, defensive alliance
- 1866 Spanish bombard Valparaíso
- 1873 Veracruz railroad opened
- 1873 Protestant missions established in Mexico
- 1874 First South American cable laid between Pernambuco and Lisbon
- 1877-80, 1884-1911 Porfirio Díaz is president of Mexico
- 1879-83 War of the Pacific
- 1889 Brazil becomes a republic
- 1890 Organization of the International Bureau of American Republics, later changed to the Pan American Union
- 1891 Civil war between the Balmacedists and the Congressional party in Chile

- 1895 Venezuelan boundary dispute involving Monroe Doctrine
- 1898 Spanish-American War
- 1898 Cuba independent
- 1898 Puerto Rico acquired by the United States
- 1899 Guayaquil-Quito railway begun
- 1900 Publication of Rodó's *Ariel*, an appeal to youth
- 1902 International disturbance over Venezuelan debts
- 1903 Independence of Panama
- 1904 Peace between Argentina and Chile signalized by the erection of the Christ of the Andes statue
- 1905 United States assumes collection of customs in the Dominican Republic
- 1907 Latin-American nations' first participation in world peace conference at the Hague
- 1910 Beginning of social revolution in Mexico
- 1914 Panama Canal opened
- 1914 United States troops occupy Veracruz
- 1915-16 Intervention of the United States in Haiti and the Dominican Republic
- 1916 United States acquires canal rights in Nicaragua
- 1917 United States purchases Virgin Islands from Denmark
- 1917-18 Brazil, Cuba, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama declare war against Germany
- 1917 New Constitution in Mexico
- 1919 Death of Amado Nervo, Mexican poet, bringing demonstration of Latin-American solidarity
- 1919 Eleven Latin-American states represented at the Versailles Peace Conference
- 1919 League of Nations joined by Colombia, Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Peru, Paraguay, Chile, Panama, Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Haiti, Uruguay
- 1920 President Brum of Uruguay proposes an American league of nations
- 1921 Colombia recognizes Panama as an independent state
- 1922-23 Brazilian Centenary Exposition at Rio de Janeiro
- 1926 Brazil gives notice of withdrawal from the League of Nations
- 1929 Treaty between Chile and Peru settles the Tacna-Arica question
- 1929 Chaco dispute precipitates armed clashes between Paraguay and Bolivia
- 1930 Revolutions due to economic and social causes in Bolivia, Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic
- 1931 Revolutions in Chile, Panama, Honduras, and El Salvador
- 1931 Mexico enters the League of Nations
- 1932 Signing of Argentine Anti-War Pact by South American nations during the visit of the president of Argentina to Brazil
- 1933 Geneva undertakes first settlement of American disputes—Leticia and Chaco boundary disputes
- 1934 United States withdraws marines from the last Latin-American country; abrogates Platt Amendment; signs Non-Intervention Treaty
- 1935 Uruguay, following the rest of Latin America, breaks relations with Russia; strengthening of Fascist tendencies in numerous Latin-American countries

- 1936 President Roosevelt calls Pan-American peace conference at Buenos Aires
- 1936 Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras resign from League of Nations
- 1936 Revival of plans for an American league of nations
- 1938 Consultation meetings of American Ministers of Foreign Affairs approved
- 1938 Peace treaty signed in the Chaco War
- 1939 American neutrality in relation to European War declared
- 1940 Inauguration of Inter-American Cultural Exchange program
- 1941 Japanese attack Pearl Harbor; United States, six Central American, and three West Indies republics declare war on Axis
- 1942 Mexico and Brazil declare war on Axis. Lend-lease activities extended to Latin-American republics
- 1942 American republics unanimously approve the Atlantic Charter
- 1943 Inter-American ties increased by interchange of visits by President Roosevelt to President Vargas of Brazil and to President Ávila Camacho of Mexico; interchange of visits of presidents and other distinguished citizens

SOME INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCES

- 1826 Congress of Panama, Panama City
- 1847 American Congress, Lima
- 1856 Third American Congress, Santiago, Chile
- 1864 Fourth American Congress, Lima
- 1877 American Congress of Jurists, Lima
- 1887 Sanitary Congress of Brazil and the States of La Plata, Rio de Janeiro
- 1888 International South American Law Congress, Montevideo
- 1888 Central American Congress, San José
- 1889-90 First International Conference of American States, Washington
- 1898 First Latin-American Scientific Congress, Montevideo
- 1901 Second International Conference of American States, Mexico City
- 1902 First Sanitary Convention of the American Republics, Washington
- 1906 Third Conference of American States, Rio de Janeiro
- 1909 First Pan-American Scientific Congress, Santiago, Chile
- 1910 Fourth International Conference of American States, Buenos Aires
- 1911 First Pan-American Commercial Conference, Washington
- 1912 International Commission of Jurists, Rio de Janeiro
- 1915 First Pan-American Financial Conference, Washington
- 1916 Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, Washington
- 1916 First Pan-American Child Welfare Conference, Buenos Aires
- 1921 First Pan-American Postal Congress, Buenos Aires
- 1923 Fifth International Conference of American States, Santiago, Chile
- 1923 First Pan-American Red Cross Conference, Buenos Aires
- 1925 First Pan-American Conference on Uniformity of Specifications, Lima
- 1925 First Pan-American Congress of Highways, Buenos Aires
- 1926 First Pan-American Congress of Journalists, Washington
- 1927 International Commission of American Jurists, Rio de Janeiro
- 1927 First Pan-American Conference on Eugenics and Homoculture, Habana
- 1928 Sixth International Conference of American States, Habana

- 1928-29 International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration, Washington
- 1929 Pan-American Institute of Geography and History, Mexico City
- 1929 Inter-American Highway Congress, Panama City
- 1930 Inter-American Congress of Rectors, Deans, and Educators, Habana
- 1930 Inter-American Commission of Women, Habana
- 1933 First Congress of the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History, Rio de Janeiro
- 1933 Seventh International Conference of American States, Montevideo
- 1936 Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, Buenos Aires
- 1938 Eighth International Congress of American States, Lima
- 1939 First Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of American Republics, Panama
- 1940 Second Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of American Republics, Habana
- 1942 Third Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of American Republics, Rio de Janeiro

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NOTE: The pronunciation symbols for Spanish, Portuguese, and French words indicated below are based on the diacritical marks found in Webster's *New International Dictionary*. The Castilian pronunciation is given for places in Spain and for the names of Spaniards. Otherwise, the pronunciation indicated for Spanish names follows Spanish-American usage. For example, *c* (also *z*) before *e* or *i* is pronounced like English *s*; *ll* usually like English *y*; and *x* sometimes like English *h*. The pronunciation of Brazilian names given below is based on the Portuguese spoken in Rio de Janeiro and Portugal. In addition, it should be noted that for some Latin-American names there are English pronunciations which are equally acceptable and in some cases even preferable.

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KEY

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B-1,F(22); 2,F(12,13); 3,F(21); 4,ON; 5,OD(18,20-21); 6,OD(11,12); 7,F(10); 8,F(16-17); 9,ON; 10,F(8).

C-1,F, individual(18); 2,T(16,19); 3,T(18); 4,T(20); 5,F, quickly(19); 6,T(20); 7,F, talkative(18); 8,T(10).

D-1,b; 2,k; 3,e; 4,g; 5,e; 6,c; 7,a; 8,i.

Ch. 2: A-1,e(31); 2,f(33); 3,b(30-31); 4,a(29-30); 5,d(41); 6,i(40); 7,c(33); 8,g(35).

B-1,F(39); 2,F(41); 3,ON; 4,F(32); 5,ON; 6,F(29); 7,OD(29).

C-1,b(27); 2,c(29); 3,a(33); 4,a(36-37); 5: encircle a, underline d.

Ch. 3: A-a,6; b,11; c,7; d,2; e,9; f,13; g,1; h,5; i,10; j,14; k,3; l,12; m,8; n,4; o,17; p,22; q,20; r,16; s,21; t,24; u,18; v,15; w,23; x,19.

Ch. 4: A-1,b(63); 2,a(64-66); 3,d(66).

B-1,T(72); 2,T(71); 3,F(70); 4,T(70); 5,T(71); 6,T(71); 7,F(69).

Ch. 5: A-1,f(87); 2,b(91); 3,a(76,93); 4,j(85); 5,i(83); 6,d(78,79); 7,h(91); 8,c(84).

B-1,a(76,83); 2,c(76); 3,a(88); 4,c(91).

C-1,AMI(76); 2,A(92) M(79) I(88); 3,A(84) M(82); 4,A(84) I(86); 5,I(89).

Half-Course Review: A-a,1; b,5; c,8; d,6; e,3; f,7; g,2; h,4; i,10; j,20; k,17; l,9; m,18; n,13; o,22; p,24; q,16; r,14; s,19; t,25; u,21; v,11; w,23; x,15; y,12.

B-1,c(45); 2,a(46); 3,d(48); 4,d(51); 5,a(57).

C-1,a(3) c(5) d(44); 2,b(29) c(35-39) d(30); 3,a(54) b(57); 4,a(95) b(86,95) d(87).

D-1,is not(3-4); 2,T(4); 3,T(16,19); 4,are not(10); 5,T(14-15); 6,farther from(10); 7,T(8); 8,coffee(12-13); 9,Bolivia(13); 10,Roca(33); 11,T(41); 12,Toussaint L'Ouverture(31); 13,favored(29); 14,T(36-37); 15,Haiti(28).

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Ch. 6: A-1,f(106); 2,j(106); 3,c(114); 4,d(107); 5,a(116); 6,i(117); 7,c(118); 8,b(104).

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Ch. 7: A-1,a(135); 2,j(133-4); 3,e(123); 4,b(131); 5,k(129); 6,h(131); 7,f(125); 8,i(122); 9,d(124-5); 10,c(129).

B-1,a c d(123); 2,b(124) c(124) d(129) e(123,127); 3,a(133) b(132) c(132).

